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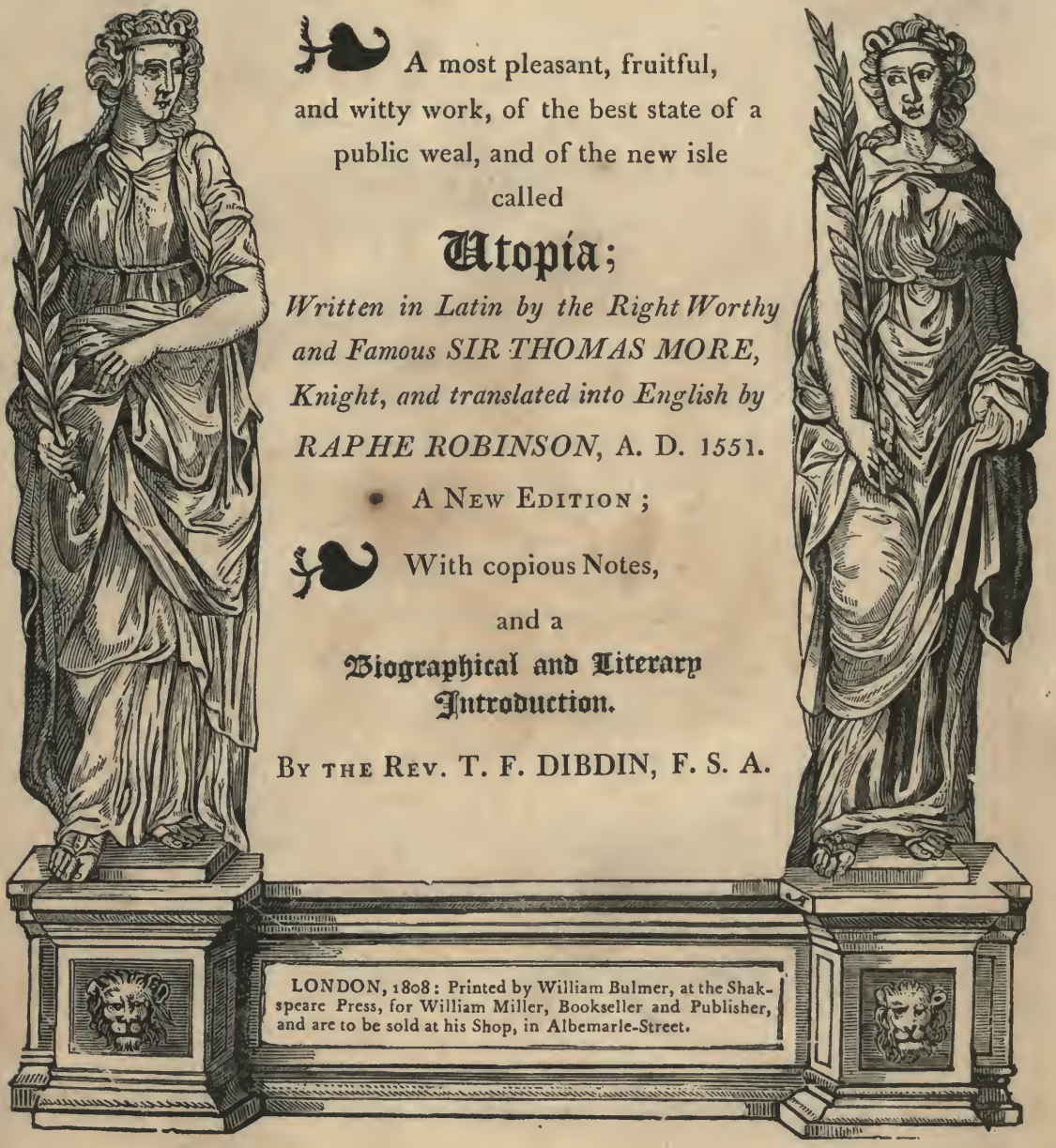
SIR THOMAS MORE Knt.

CHANCELLOR of ENGLAND.

Nat. 1480. Ob. 1535.

Pub.d Feb.y 1808. by W. Miller, London.



A most pleasant, fruitful, and witty work, of the best state of a public weal, and of the new isle called

Utopia;

Written in Latin by the Right Worthy and Famous SIR THOMAS MORE, Knight, and translated into English by RAPHE ROBINSON, A. D. 1551.

A New Edition;

With copious Notes, and a

Biographical and Literary Introduction.

By the Rev. T. F. DIBDIN, F. S. A.

LONDON, 1808: Printed by William Bulmer, at the Shakspeare Press, for William Miller, Bookseller and Publisher, and are to be sold at his Shop, in Albemarle-Street.

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THE EPISTLE

TO THE

READER.

GENTLE READER,

I HERE present unto thee a new edition of a celebrated work, which has not had the good fortune to be so much admired in our own, as in foreign countries. Whether this may have arisen from the want of curiosity or discernment in our ancestors, is a point too delicate and weighty for my determination: certain it is, that almost all editors

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have complained of the backwardness of our countrymen to notice and commend the UTOPIA of Sir Thomas More.

The text of the present edition is taken from the first English one, which was translated by Raphe Robinson, and printed by Abraham Veale, in 1551: a work of such scarcity, as to have escaped the notice of all Editors of ancient English authors. Its *intrinsic* value * has appeared to me to be equal to its rarity.

* This first English edition is particularly analised at page clix. &c. post. As specimens of the purity of its style, the reader may, *in limine*, consult pp. 24, 5. of the Prologue, and pp. 46, 7—124, 5. of the First Book only.

If I were to mention any contemporary work, analogous to it in style, it would be MICHAEL WOOD's translation of the famous Treatise "*De*

The NOTES, which accompany the text, are executed on the plan of a *Variorum Edition*; and, without the affectation of antiquarian research, they are intended to throw some little light on the Manners, Customs, and Sentiments of our ancestors in the sixteenth century.

The "SUPPLEMENTAL NOTES," while they may be thought to exhibit amusing specimens of the literature of the seven-

Vera Obedientia," by the Bishop of Winchester, with Bonner's preface: printed at Roane, xxvi of October MDLIII. 8vo—a work sufficiently known to, and coveted by, black-letter collectors! It is indeed singularly curious. The reader will compare the following with the first half dozen lines of page 22 book i. (post.)

"But as touching this bishop's worthy praises, there shall be nothing spoken of me at this time: not only because they are infinite, but because they

teenth century, connect, in some degree, the chain of research with the present times.* Those Notes, which allude to *modern* customs and opinions, may probably, at first sight, be considered superficial; but it should be remembered that, at a future period, (if the edition be permitted to live) they may in turn become interesting to the curious antiquary.

The "BIOGRAPHICAL and LITERARY INTRODUCTION," was intended to give

are far better known to all Christendom than becometh me here to make rehearsal."—fol. i. rev.

* I have adopted both the ancient and the modern orthography, in the extracts from the authors of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The former, out of compliment to Dr. Johnson's remark in Hamlet; (Reed's Shakspeare, vol. xviii. p. 284. note 5.) the latter, from respect to the good sense evinced by Mr. G. Ellis, as noticed at p. lxxv. post.

an additional interest to the subsequent pages; so that in reading the most celebrated performance of Sir Thomas More, a tolerably accurate idea might be formed of the FAMILY, the LIFE, and the WORKS of its Author. In the present age of elegant and curious disquisition, the "PORTRAITS OF SIR THOMAS MORE," and the "EDITIONS OF THE UTOPIA," may not be thought the least acceptable parts of this "Introduction."

In fine, (following the example of ancient *Lyndsay*, and the author of the *Complaynt of Scotland*,) I entreat the "Gude Redar to correct me familiarly, and be cherite, and til interpreit my intentione favourablye."* Or, in the

* Dr. LEYDEN's edition of the *Complaynt of Scotland*, 1801. 4to. p. 23. *Prel. Dissert.* and p. 27.

language of another ancient wight, "the good reader is to be praied, for his own relief and the Author's, first to correct the errors of the print, and then to read and judge."*

And thus heartily wishing thee farewell,

I am

Thine

Kensington, June 21, 1808. T. F. D.

of the text. A work of equal interest and erudition. The first 292 pages are devoted to a Preliminary Dissertation; the following 294 to a reprint of the text. A useful Glossary of 80 pages concludes the volume.

* See "*An Answere to a Supplicatorie Epistle of G. T.*" Printed for Tobie Smith, London, 8vo. No date.

INTRODUCTION

Biographical and Literary.

Vis scire in literis, quis, et quid esset
THOMAS *ille* MORUS *decus suorum?*
Orator fuit elegans, disertus.
Festivus fuit et Poëta suavis.
Non Græcum secus ac Latina callens.
Nec callet modò; sed tuetur illa
Linguarum haud secus Advocatus acer,
Quam legum fuerat Britannicarum.
Quantus Philosophus, docere possunt
Leges UTOPIÆ *recens apertæ. &c. &c.*

STAPLETON, Vit. Mori. p. 365.

It was my original intention to have prefixed to this edition of the Utopia, *Some account of the Life of Sir Thomas More;* but recollecting how frequently (and indeed recently) the subject had been before the public, it appeared to be a more eligible plan to reserve for the notes, subjoined to the text of the Utopia, such anecdotes of our author's life as might enliven, while they illustrated, the work. I shall therefore beg the reader's attention to the following arrangement of my introductory materials:

I. The Family of Sir T. More.

II. The Biography of Sir T. More.

III. Account of his Works; with Specimens of the same.

IV. Editions of the Utopia.

I. THE FAMILY OF SIR T. MORE.

1. *His Parents.*

SIR THOMAS, on the authority of Stapleton,* and his Great Grandson†, was the only son of Sir JOHN MORE, many years a puisne judge of the court of King's Bench.

* Cap. i. p. 10. † Ch. i.

The *father* is described by his son, as a man of the most amiable temper and inoffensive manners; accompanied with unshaken integrity.* "He bare arms from his birth, having his coat quartered; which doth argue that he came to his inheritance by descent: and therefore, by reason of king Henry's seizure of all our evidences (says More's great-grandson,) we cannot certainly tell, who were *Sir John's ancestors*,† yet must they needs be gentlemen;

* "Homo civilis, suavis, innocens, mitis, misericors, æquus et integer, annis quidem gravis, sed corpore plus quàm pro ætate vivido, postquam eò sibi productam vitam vidit, ut filium videret Angliæ Cancellarium, satis in terra jam se moratum ratus, libens emigravit in cœlum." Sir Thomas's Epitaph on his father: among his Latin Works cited by Stapleton, p. 10.

† I shall here take notice of a very curious and uncommon book, in which there is an ancestry assigned to the "MORES," wholly unknown to the biographers of Sir Thomas. This book is in the possession of Mr. Todd; whose readiness to oblige his friends, is only equalled by his ability to gratify them, in literary communications. The title is as follows: "The English Catholike Christian, or the Saint's Utopia: by THOMAS *de Eschallers de la* MORE, an unprofitable Servant of Jesus Christ: of *Graies*-Inne, Barrister, and Minister of the Gospel of Eternal Salvation. In the year of Grace and Truth, 1649, &c. &c." Published in the same year, at London, in 4to. pp. 36. The title, as well as the contents of the book, are evidently the produc-

and, as I have heard, they either came out of the

tion of an enthusiast, or even madman. It is dedicated to King Charles the First, and in the "Epistle Dedicatory," p. 2. the author thus speaks of his family, "I am a branch sprouted from a root, that many ages hath grown, spread and flourished, lived and revived in the light of the countenance, and sun-shine days of divers Kings of England, your Royall Progenitors; whose princely bounty and most munificent constant favours unto mine ancestors, hath been as a cloud of the latter rain; *videlicet, Sir Hugh de Pounts, un chivaler, qui vint de Normandie avec le Conquerour; et transacto regimine Regis Haroldi Secundi; Laurentius de la More, qui erat in exercitu Willielmi Bastardi Regis in Conquestu suo Regni Angliæ*, &c. *et Dominus Galfridus de Scalariis, Miles; et Sir Thomas de Eschallers, et Sir John de Chalers, Knights: (Scalarii isti sunt editi atavo Galfridi Senioris Hardwino de Scalariis Domino totius Baroniæ de Caxton in Comitate Cantabrigiæ tempore Willielmi Regis Angliæ)*, and Sir *Thomas de la More*, Knight, who was a courtier in the reigns of Edward the First, Edward the Second, and Edward the Third, and was a servant (and wrote the life) of King Edward the Second. And my *grandfather*, who was a *servant to king Henry the Eighth.*"

By this latter sentence, he must allude to Sir THOMAS MORE—which is a manifest absurdity. Sir Thomas died in 1535; his only son John, who was born when Sir T. was a young man, had five children—he married young, and died young. The eldest of More's grandsons, Thomas, had thir-

MORES of Ireland or they of Ireland came out of us."*

From the few anecdotes which have reached us of Sir JOHN, he appears to have possessed some portion of that wit and humour which were so eminently conspicuous in his son. There is nothing, however extant of his sayings, but the one respecting the *choice of a wife* :—" Cambden reporteth of him for proof of his pleasantness of wit, that he would compare the multitude of women, which are to be chosen for wives, unto a *bag full of snakes, having amongst them but one eel.* Now if a man should put his hand into this bagg, he may chance to light on the eel, but it is a hundred to one he *shall be stung with a snake !*" This story is told by More's Great Grandson, and Hoddesdon.

He died, according to Hoddesdon, in consequence of a sickness "from a surfeit of grapes. In his sickness, his son, whom he had now seen Lord

teen children, of whom the youngest, great-grandson to Sir Thomas, wrote the valuable life of his great-grandfather. Now, it would follow that the grandson Thomas, eldest son of John, should be a contemporary with the author of this Tract; and yet we find that the *great-grandson*, the biographer, died in 1625, twenty-four years before the publishing of this professed *grandson's* book! The author of it, therefore, was an impostor or madman. There is a copy of this curious work in the British Museum.

* Great Grandson's Life, p. 3, 4.

Chancellor, (according to his duty) often came and visited him; using many comfortable words unto him, and, at his departure out of this world, with tears taking him about the neck, most lovingly kissed and embraced him, commending his soul into the merciful hands of Almighty God, and so departed from him!"* He was buried, at the advanced age of ninety years, in St. Lawrence's Church, in the Old Jewry.

There is a fine portrait of him published by Mr. Chamberlayne, from the Holbein drawings; which was either a study for the one in the Family Picture of the Mores, by the same artist, or was a copy after it.

Sir JOHN was thrice married; his first wife, the mother of Sir Thomas, was a Handcombe, of Holywell, in the county of Bedford. Dr. Stapleton, however, tells us that her name was unknown.† She died during the infancy of her son. Of his second wife, we are wholly uninformed. His third and last was called ALICE, one of the More's of Surrey, and great aunt to Sir William More, who was living in the reign of James the First. She had for her join-

* Tho. Mori Vita et Exitus, or, the History of Sir Thomas More, &c. by J. H. Gent. Lond. 8vo. 1652. p. 67.

† Great Grandson's Life of Sir Thomas, 8vo. edit. 1726, p. 4.

ture, Sir John's principal seat and lands at More Place, or Gubbens, in the parish of North Mimes, in Hertfordshire. She survived Sir Thomas about ten years; so that he received no benefit from her fortune. It was to the possessor of this family mansion of the Mores, "CRESACRE MORE," that Alsop dedicated his two editions of the Utopia.

His *mother*, the night after her marriage, had the following vision. "She saw in her sleep, as it were engraven on her wedding ring, the number and favour of all the children she was to have; whereof, the face of one was so dark and obscure, that she could not well discern it; but the face of another she beheld shining most gloriously. Accordingly, it is observed that, she had one miscarriage; and, afterwards, the famous Sir Thomas. Again, soon after his birth, his nurse riding with him through a water, the horse happening to slip aside into a deep place—she, in order to save the infant from drowning, in her fright, threw it over the hedge into the next field: when she came, after her own escape, to take him up, she found the babe sweetly smiling upon her; having received no manner of hurt."*

* This anecdote is related by the authors of the old Biogr. Britan. vol. v. 3157. note A—on the authority of Stapleton (Vit. Mori. p. 10, 11.); who adds, "Fuerunt hæc non obscura præsagia in magnum aliquando et excellentem virum, hunc puerum evasurum

2. *His Wives.*

"SIR THOMAS having determined, by the advice and direction of his ghostly father [Dean Colett], to be a married man—there was at that time a pleasant conceited gentleman of an ancient family in Essex, one Mr. John Colte, of Newhall,* that invited him to his house, being much delighted in his company; and proffered unto him the choice of any of his daughters, who were young gentlewomen of very good carriage and complexions, and very religiously inclined; whose honest and sweet conversation, whose virtuous education enflamed Sir Thomas not a little. And although his affection most served him to the *second*, for that he thought her the fairest and best favoured; yet when he thought with himself that would be a grief and some blemish in the *eldest*, to see her young sister preferred before her, he, of a kind of compassion, settled his fancy upon the eldest (JANE), and soon after married her, with all her friends good liking."*

"More married," says Erasmus, "a maiden young lady of an excellent family, residing in the country with her parents and relatives, with a mind somewhat

* Great Grandson's Life, 4to. edit. p. 46, 7. Roper's Life, edit. Lewis, 1731. p. 28.

uncultivated, in order that he might the more readily form it according to his own ideas of education. He took care to have her instructed in learning, and in all musical accomplishments."*

We are told by the Great-grandson, that Sir Thomas soon "began to be clogged with wife and family, for his wife brought unto him almost every year a child." They lived together only six years; she dying soon after her delivery of the fourth and last child, *John*. Her remaining children were *Margaret, Elizabeth,* and *Cicely*. She appears to have been a woman of pleasing manners and sweet disposition, and to have secured and deserved the affections of her husband. We hear of no weak speeches, or disgusting anecdotes, relating to her; and, although the biographers of More do not record any expressed commendations of her by her husband, (nor have I been able to discover any among Sir Thomas's Works, or Epistles to Erasmus), yet there

* In Farrag. Epist. It seems to have been a settled principle with More that the wife was to learn every thing of her husband.—In his "Treatise upon the Passion," he says, "St. Paul commandeth that a woman shall not take upon her to teach her husband, but that her husband should teach her: and that she should learn of him *in silentio*—that is, in silence; that is to wit, she should sit and hear him, and *hold herself her tongue.*"—Works, 1557. p. 1275. G.

is just reason to conclude that our author lived happily in his first married state, and that he deeply regretted its transitoriness. There is no doubt but that the Utopia was written during this congenial period of the author's life.*

We are now to speak of More's *Second Wife*. In his "History of Richard the Third," Sir Thomas tells us that "small pleasure taketh a man of all he hath beside, if he be *wived against his appetite*."† This was emphatically the case of our author in his second marriage, which is thus related by his Great-grandson.

"Within two or three years after the death of his first wife, he married a widow, called Mrs. ALICE MIDDLETON, by whom he had no children. This he did not of any concupiscence, for he would often affirm that chastity is more hardly kept in wedlock, than in single life—but, because she might have care of his children, that were very young, from whom of necessity he must be very often absent. She was of good years,‡ of no good favour nor complexion, nor very rich: by disposition, very near and worldly. I have heard it reported," continues our biographer, "that he wooed her for a friend of his, not once

* See More's Letter to Peter Giles, p. 5. post.

† More's English Works, edit. 1556. p. 59. F.

‡ "He married," says Erasmus, "a widow, not for lust, but to be a governess to his young family; who, although

thinking to have her himself; but she wisely answering him that—"he might speed the better if he would speak in his own behalf,"—telling his friend what she had said unto him—with his good liking, he married her: and did that, which otherwise, he would perhaps never have thought to have done. And indeed her favour, as I think, could not have bewitched or scarce moved any man to love her; but yet she proved a kind and careful mother-in-law to his children."*

Any heart, but More's, would have been broken by this match; for Mrs. Alice Middleton appears to have been one of the most loquacious, ignorant, and narrow-minded, of women. Like another Socrates, More endeavoured to laugh away his conjugal miseries; always replying to the sarcastic remarks of his wife, with complacency and poignant good humour. The reader will probably be amused with an anecdote or two relating to this good lady. The first has been noticed by Mr. Seward.†

Sir Thomas would say of her that "she was often

she were inclining to old age, and of a nature somewhat harsh, and besides very worldly, he persuaded her to play upon the lute, viol, and some other instruments, every day performing thereon her task." Thus did our benevolent author try his utmost to convert *discord* into *harmony*.

* Page 48, 49. 4to. edit. † Anecdotes, vol. i. 93. edit. 1804.

penny wise and pound foolish; saving a candle's end, and spoiling a velvet gown." In his book of "Comfort and Tribulacion," he calleth this wife of his, "*a jollie maister-woman.*"—Life of More, 4to. ed. p. 127.

When More had resigned the seals of the Chancellor, "he went to *Chelsea* church, with my lady, and his children and family: and after mass was done, because it was a custom, that one of my Lord's gentlemen should then go to my Lady's pew, and tell her *my Lord was gone before*—then did he HIMSELF come, and making unto her a curtesy, with his cap in his hand, said—"May it please your Ladyship to come forth—now *my Lord is gone!*" Whereto, she imagining it to be but one of his jests, as he used many unto her, he sadly affirmed unto her that it was true—for he had *resigned up his office*, and the King had graciously accepted it."

When she used to say afterwards "*Tillie vallie, tillie vallie*, what will you do, Mr. More?—will you sit and make goslings in the ashes? it is better to rule than be ruled—" More then began to find fault with her dressing—but none of his daughters observing it, Sir Thomas merrily said, "*Do you not perceive that your mother's nose is awry?*"—at which words she stepped away from him in a rage. All which he did, to make her think the less of her decay

of honour, which else would have troubled her sore." *Ibid.* 244. 5.

" When Sir Thomas had remained a good while in the Tower, my Lady, his wife, obtained leave to see him, that he might have more motives to break his conscience. Who, at the first, coming to him like a plain rude woman, and somewhat worldly too, in this manner began bluntly to salute. " What the good year, Mr. More, I marvel that you, who have been hitherto always taken for a wise man, will now so play the fool, as to lie here in this close filthy prison, and be content to be shut up thus, with mice and rats! when you might be abroad at your liberty, with the favour and good will both of the king and the counsel—if you would but do as all the bishops and best learned of his realm have done! And seeing you have at *Chelsea* a right fair house, your library, your books, your gallery, your garden, your orchard, and all other necessaries so handsome about you—where you might, in company with me your wife, your children, and household, be merry—I muse, what a God's name you mean here still thus fondly to tarry!" After he had a good while heard her, he said unto her, with a chearful countenance—" I pray thee, good Mrs. Alice, tell me one thing"—" What is that?" sayeth she,—" *Is not this house as near heaven as mine own?*" She answering after her custom, " *Tillie vallie, tillie*

vallie,"—he replied, "How sayest thou, Mrs. Alice, is it not so indeed?" "*Bone Deus,* man, will this gear never be left?"—"Well then, Mrs. Alice, if it be so, I see no great cause why I should much joy either of my fair house, or any thing belonging thereunto; when if I should be but seven years buried under the ground, and rise and come thither again, I should not fail to find some therein, that would bid me get me out of doors, and tell me plainly that it were none of mine! What cause have I then to like such a house, as would so soon forget his master? Again tell me, Mrs. Alice, how long do you think may we live and enjoy it?"—"Some twenty years," said she. "Truly," replied he, "if you had said some *thousand* years, it had been somewhat! and yet he were a very bad merchant that would put himself in danger *to lose eternity for a thousand years!*" Ibid. p. 306.

She survived her husband; but how long, is not mentioned by More's biographers. On his death, she was driven from her house at Chelsea, and is said to have subsisted entirely upon an annuity of twenty pounds per annum, granted her by king Henry VIII. "A poor allowance," as the great grandson well observes, "to maintain a Lord Chancellor's lady!"

3. *His Children.*

SIR THOMAS MORE, as has been already observed, had three daughters and one son; the latter was the youngest. It seems that his first wife wished very much for a boy; at last she brought him this *Son*, who proved to be but of slender capacity—upon which Sir Thomas is reported to have said to his wife, that "she had prayed so long for a *boy*, that she had now one who would *be a boy as long as he lived!*"* The education of the son was not however neglected, and it is reasonable to suppose that he made some progress, as Erasmus styles him "a youth of great hopes." He also dedicated to him his edition of Aristotle's works, by which it would appear that young More understood Greek as well as Latin.

"Grynæus, *although a heretic*, (says the grandson of John,) did dedicate Plato and other books in Greek, unto my grandfather, JOHN MORE, as to one that was also very skilful in the tongue." The dedication is fulsome enough. Grynæus tells him that "the Muses are his sisters, and that a divine heat of spirit, to the admiration and new example of our age, hath driven him far into the seat of learning, &c."—See the Grandson's Translation, p. 182.

* Old Biogr. Britan. vol. v. p. 3168.

On the death of the father, the son was committed to the Tower, and was condemned for refusing to take the oath of supremacy, for which his parent suffered: "yet because" (says his grandson) "they had sufficiently fleeced him before, and could now get no more by his death, he got at last his pardon and liberty, but lived not many years after."* He married a Yorkshire heiress of the name of CRESACRES, and had by her five children; four of whom died shortly after coming of age—the youngest married, and had thirteen children, of which, again, the youngest inherited the estates, and has bequeathed to us his truly valuable life of his Great-Grandfather, Sir THOMAS.

Of the *Daughters* of More, the eldest, and most accomplished, was MARGARET: a woman, indeed, of such transcendant talents as to place her in the very first rank of learned women of the age. She appears to have been a perfect character, as far as human nature may be said to approach perfection; for the attainments of her mind were rendered still more brilliant and attractive, by the virtues of her heart. Her disposition was gentle and affectionate; her sentiments were always expressed with diffidence; and her filial love and reverence towards the best of parents, throws a never-fading lustre upon her memory.

* p. 280, l. 8vo. edit.

The same principles of filial duty which inclined her, at all times, to learn and to practise her father's precepts—the same intellectual energies which stimulated her to become acquainted with the great authors of antiquity—the same refined feelings which taught her the importance of domestic duties and domestic happiness—these, collectively, seem to have animated her at the great and painful moment of trial, when her father was led to execution—when she, again and again, burst through the crowd, embraced his knees, implored his blessing, wept upon his cheek, and bade him for ever farewell !

But the reader shall judge for himself. "This daughter,"* says her grandson, (the biographer of her

* Vide Great Grandson's Life of Sir Thomas More, 8vo. edit. 1726. p. 139, &c.

STAPLETON has devoted the eleventh chapter of his biography to an account of the accomplishments of More's daughter, *Margaret*; inserting some of the original Latin letters that passed between her and her father. "Hæc Margareta, (says he), liberorum natu maxima præter omnes alias Mori proles et staturâ corporis, et formâ, et voce, et ingenio, et tota indole, proximè ad patrem accedebat. Composuit Græcè Latinèque, soluta et pedestri oratione elegantissimè. Vidi ego duas ejus declamationes Latinas exercitii causâ scriptas, quæ ut stilo quidem ornatæ et facundæ erant, sic inventione non ita multum patri cedebant." Speaking of the first of the above letters, written by More to his

father), " was likest her father as well in favour as in wit, and proved a most rare woman for learning, sanctity, and secrecy; and therefore he trusted her with all his secrets. She wrote *Two Declamations* in English, which her father and she turned into Latin so elegantly, as one could hardly judge which was the best. She made also a treatise of the " *Four Last Things;*" which her father sincerely protested that it was better than his, and therefore, it may be, never finished it. She corrected by her wit a corrupted passage of St. Cyprian. To her, ERASMUS wrote an epistle, as to a woman not only famous for manners and virtue, but most of all, for learning. She made an oration to answer Quintilian, defending that rich man which he accuseth for having poisoned a poor man's bees, with certain venemous flowers in his garden—so eloquent and witty that it may strive with his! She translated Eusebius out of Greek, but it was never printed; because Christopherson at that time had done it exactly before."

Cardinal Pole so much admired one of her letters,

daughter, Stapleton thus remarks—" Ex hâc sane epistolâ liquet Margaretam non vulgariter eruditam aut mediocriter literatam fuisse; sed ea scribendo elaborasse quæ in lucem emitti et omnibus communicari merebantur: etsi vel sexûs pudor, vel animi modestia, vel ipsa rei vix credenda novitas, (ut hic Morus insinuat,) ut id aliquando fieret, non permiserit."—Vit. Thom. Mori. p. 237. 240.

that when he had read it, he would not believe it could be any woman's. More thus alludes to it in one of his letters to his daughter:—

"I thought with myself how true I found that now, which once I remember I spoke unto you in jest, when I pitied your hard hap, that men that read your writings would suspect you to have had help of some other man therein, which would derogate somewhat from the praises due to your works; seeing that you of all others deserve least to have such a suspicion had of you, or that you never could abide to be decked with the plumes of other birds. But you, sweet MEG, are rather to be praised for this, that seeing you cannot hope for condigne praise of your labours, yet for all this you go forward with this your invincible courage, to join with your virtue the knowledge of most excellent sciences; and contenting yourself with your own pleasure in learning, you never hunt after vulgar praises, nor receive them willingly, though they be offered you; and for your singular piety and love towards me, you esteem me and your husband a sufficient and ample theatre for you to content you with: who, in requital of this your affection, beseech God and our Lady, with as hearty prayers as possible we can pour out, to give you an easy and happy childbirth, to increase your family with a child most like yourself, except only in sex: yet if it be a wench, that it may be such a one, as would in time recompense by imitation of her mother's learning and virtues, what by the condition of her sex may be wanting; such *a wench* I should prefer before *three boys*."

"But see I pray you, (continues her grandson,) how a most learned Bishop in England was ravished with her learning and wit, as it appeareth by this letter, which her father wrote unto her to certify her thereof.

"THOMAS MORE *sendeth hearty greeting to his dearest daughter* MARGARET:

"I will let pass to tell you, my sweetest daughter, how much your letter delighted me; you may imagine how exceedingly it pleased your father, when you understand what affection the reading of it raised in a stranger. It happened with me this evening to sit with John, Lord Bishop of Exeter, a learned man, and by all men's judgment, a most sincere man: as we were talking together, and I taking out of my pocket a paper, which was to the purpose we were talking of, I pulled out, by chance, therewith, your letter. The hand-writing pleasing him, he took it from me and looked on it; when he perceived it by the salutation to be a woman's, he began more greedily to read it, novelty inviting him thereunto: but when he had read it, and understood that it was your writing—which he never could have believed, if I had not seriously affirmed it—such a letter—I will say no more—yet why should not I report that which he said unto me? so pure a stile, so good latin, so eloquent, so full of sweet affections! he was marvelously ravished with it! When he perceived that I brought forth also an oration of yours, which he reading, and also many of your verses, he was so moved with the matter so unlooked for, that the very countenance and gesture of the man, free from all flattery and deceit, bewrayed

what his mind was, more than his words could utter; although he uttered many to your great praise. And forthwith, he drew out of his pocket a *portegué*, the which you shall receive enclosed herein. I could not possibly shun the taking of it, but he would needs send it unto you, as a sign of his dear affection towards you, although by all means I endeavoured to give him it again; which was the cause I shewed him none of your other sisters' works; for I was afraid least I should have been thought to have shewed them of purpose, because he should bestow the like curtesy upon them; for it troubled me sore that I must needs take this of him: but he is so worthy a man, as I have said, that it is a happiness to please him thus. Write carefully unto him, and as eloquently as you are able, to give him thanks therefore. Farewell; from the court this 11th of September, even almost at midnight."

"Yet one other letter, (says the same authority,) I will set down of Sir Thomas to this his daughter, which is thus:

"THOMAS MORE *sendeth greeting to his dearest daughter* MARGARET.

"There was no reason, my dearest daughter, why thou shouldest have deferred thy writing unto me one day longer, for fear that thy letters being so barren, should not be read of me without loathing. For though they had not been most curious, yet in respect of thy sex, thou mightest have been pardoned by any man; yea even a blemish in the child's face, seemeth often to a father beautiful. But these your letters, MEG, were so eloquently polished, that they had nothing in them, not only why

they should fear the most indulgent affection of your father MORE, but also they needed not to have regarded even Momus his censure, though never so testy. I greatly thank Mr. Nicolas, our dear friend (a most expert man in astronomy) and do congratulate your happiness, whom it may fortune within the space of one month, with a small labour of your own, to learn so many and such high wonders of that mighty and eternal workman, which were not found but in many ages, by watching in so many cold nights under the open skies, with much labour and pains, by such excellent and above all other men's understanding wits. This which you write, pleaseth me exceedingly, that you had determined with yourself to study philosophy so diligently, that you will hereafter recompense by your diligence, what your negligence hath heretofore lost you. I love you for this, dear MEG, that whereas I never have found you to be a loiterer (your learning, which is not ordinary, but in all kind of sciences most excellent, evidently shewing how painfully you have proceeded therein), yet such is your modesty, that you had rather still accuse yourself of negligence, than vainly boast of diligence; except you mean by this your speech that you will be hereafter so diligent, that your former endeavours, though indeed they were great and praiseworthy, yet in respect of your future diligence, may be called negligence. If it be so that you mean, (as I do verily think you do,) I imagine nothing can happen to me more fortunate; nothing to you, my dearest daughter, more happy: for as I have earnestly wished that you might spend the rest of your life in studying physic, and holy scriptures, by the which there shall

never be helps wanting unto you, for the end of man's life; which is, to endeavour that a sound mind be in a healthful body, of which studies you have already laid some foundations, and you shall never want matter to build thereupon. So now I think that some of the first years of your youth yet flourishing may be very well bestowed in human learning and the liberal arts, both because your age may best struggle with those difficulties, and for that it is uncertain, whether at any time else we shall have the commodity of so careful, so loving, and so learned a master: to let pass that, by this kind of learning, our judgments are either gotten, or certainly much helped thereby. I could wish, dear MEG, that I might talk with you a long time about these matters, but behold they which bring in supper, interrupt me and call me away. My supper cannot be so sweet unto me, as this my speech with you is, if I were not to respect others more than myself. Farewell, dearest daughter, and commend me kindly to your husband, my loving son; who maketh me rejoice for that he studieth the same things you do. And whereas I am wont always to counsel you to give place to your husband, now, on the other side, I give you license to strive to master him in the knowledge of the sphere. Farewell again and again. Commend me to all your school-fellows, but to your master especially."

We are told by this devout biographer of Sir Thomas, that "On a time his daughter Margaret fell sick of the sweating-sickness,* of which many

* This distemper first began in the year 1483, in Henry

died at that time; who, lying in so great extremity of the disease, that, by no inventions nor devises that any cunning physician could use, at that time having continually about her the most learned, wise, and expert that could be gotten, she could by no means be kept from sleep; so that every one about her had just cause to despair of her recovery, giving her utterly over. Her father, as he that most loved her, being in no small heaviness, at last sought for remedy of this her desperate case from God. Wherefore going, as his custom was, into his new

the VIIth's. army, upon its landing at Milford-haven, and spread itself in London, from the 21st. of September to the end of October. It returned five times, and always in summer: first, in 1485—then in 1506; aftewards in 1517; when it was so violent, that the patient died in the space of three hours. It appeared the fourth time in 1520, and again in 1528, (which seems to have been the time when More's daughter had it) when it proved mortal in the space of six hours. The manner of its seizure was thus; first, it affected some particular part, attended with inward heat and burning, unquenchable thirst, restlessness, sickness at stomach and heart, (though seldom vomiting), head-ach, delirium, then faintness and excessive drowsiness. The pulse quick and vehement, and the breath short and labouring. None recovered under twenty-four hours. The only care was to carry on the sweat, which was necessary for a long time: sleep to be avoided by all means." Dr. Friend's History of Physic, vol. ii. 335.

building—there, in his chapel, upon his knees most devoutly even with many tears besought Almighty God, unto whom nothing was impossible, if it were his blessed will, that at his mediation he would vouchsafe graciously to grant this his humble petition."

The result of this supplication was, the suggestion (on the part of More) of a simple but efficacious remedy, which had entirely escaped the physicians, and which effected the cure of his daughter.

The reader, if he be not wearied with the foregoing extracts, has now only to contemplate this amiable and exemplary character, in the last scene of her beloved father's sufferings—and in this, it must be confessed, that her behaviour bore every mark of the severest mental distraction. She acted, indeed, a conspicuous and trying part; for, of all More's family, she alone seems to have the most justly appreciated the worth of her parent.

"When More had remained with great cheerfulness about a month's space in the Tower, his daughter MARGARET, longing sore to see her father, made earnest suit, and at last got leave to go to see him: at whose coming, after they had said together the Seven Psalms, and Litanies, (which he used always to say with her, when she came thither, before he would fall in talk of any worldly matters, to the intent he might commend all his words to Almighty God's honour and glory), amongst other speeches he

said thus unto her: "I believe, MEG, that they who have put me here, think they have done me a high displeasure; but I assure thee on my faith, mine own good daughter, that if it had not been for my wife, and you my children, whom I account the chief part of my charge, I would not have failed long ere this to have closed myself in as strait a room as this, and straiter too; now since I am come hither without mine own desert, I trust that God of his goodness will discharge me of my care, and with his gracious help supply the want of my presence amongst you; and I find no cause, I thank God, to reckon myself here in worse case than in mine own house; for methinks, God, by this imprisonment, maketh me one of his wantons, and setteth me upon his lap and dandleth me, even as he hath done all his best friends, St. John Baptist, St. Peter, St. Paul, and all his his holy apostles, martyrs, and his most especial favourites, whose examples God make me worthy to imitate!"

His daughter, without sufficiently considering how conscientiously he had refused to take the oath of supremacy, "forcibly urged him with many reasons and motives to the taking of this oath, that they might enjoy his presence at his house at Chelsea." More answered all her arguments very methodically, but remained immoveable.

"After all this, she sought to fright him with the danger of death, which might perhaps move him to

relent;" but a mind like More's, which had uniformly displayed a contempt of all worldly honours, was not to be shaken by this natural, but unphilosophical, appeal to his passions.

"At another time, when he had questioned his daughter about her mother, her children, and the state of his house in his absence, he asked her at last —*How Queen Anne* did?*" "In faith, father, said she, never better:—there is nothing else in the court but dancing and sporting." "Never better?" (said he), "alas MEG, alas! it pitieth me to remember unto what misery, poor soul, she will shortly come. These dances of hers will prove such dances, that she will spurn our heads off like footballs; but it will not be long ere her head will dance the like dance!" The melancholy end of the Queen sufficiently proved the truth of this prediction.

But the trying scene is yet to be described. "When Sir THOMAS was come now to the Tower-wharf, his best beloved child, my aunt Roper, desirous to see her father, whom she feared she should never see in this world after, to have his last blessing, gave there attendance to meet him; who, as soon as she had espied, after she had received upon her knees his fatherly blessing, she ran hastily unto him; and without consideration or care of herself, passing through the midst of the throng and guard of men, who with bills and halberds compassed him round,

* Anne Bullen.

there openly in the sight of them all, embraced him; took him about the neck and kissed him, not able to say any word, but, *Oh my Father, Oh my Father!*"

"He, liking well her most natural and dear affection towards him, gave her his fatherly blessing; telling her, that whatsoever he should suffer, though he were innocent, yet it was not without the will of God; and that she knew well enough all the secrets of his heart, counselling her to accommodate her will to God's blessed pleasure, and bade her be patient for her loss."

"She was no sooner parted from him, and gone ten steps, when she, not satisfied with the former farewell, like one who had forgot herself, ravished with the entire love of so worthy a father, having neither respect to herself, nor to the press of the people about him, suddenly turned back, and ran hastily to him, took him about the neck, and divers times together kissed him; whereat he spoke not a word, but carrying still his gravity, tears fell also from his eyes; yea, there were very few in all the troop, who could refrain hereat from weeping; no, not the guard themselves: yet at last, with a full heavy heart, she was severed from him."

"Oh! what a spectacle was this, to see a woman, of nature shamefast, by education modest, to express such excessive grief, as that love should make her shake off all fear and shame! which doleful sight, piercing the hearts of all beholders, how do you

think it moved her father's? Surely his affection and forcible love would have daunted his courage, if that a divine spirit of constancy had not inspired him to behold this most generous woman, his most worthy daughter, endowed with all good gifts of nature, all sparks of piety, which are wont to be most acceptable to a loving father, to press unto him at such a time and place, where no man could have access, hanging about his neck before he perceived, holding so fast by him as she could scarce be plucked off, not uttering any other words, but *Oh my Father!* What a sword was this to his heart! and at last, being drawn away by force, to run upon him again without any regard either of the weapons wherewith he was compassed, or of the modesty becoming her own sex. What comfort did he want! what courage did he then stand in need of! and yet he resisted all this most courageously, remitting nothing of his steady gravity, speaking only that which we have recited before, and at last desiring her to pray for her father's soul."*

* The above circumstances are all described, or alluded to, by Stapleton, Roper, and Hoddesdon. Stapleton's account is beautiful and touching—the Latin narrative has here a decided superiority over the English. See also a Latin epistle, by Nucerinus, "De Morte D. Thomæ Mori et Episcopi Roffensis," subjoined to the Basil edition of More's Utopia, 1563. p. 518.

I shall close my account of this amiable and excellent woman, with the last letter written to her by her father, the day before he suffered; and which few will read unmoved. It was first, I believe, printed in the folio edition of More's English Works by Tottel, 1557; and may be found at the end of Mr. Lewis's edition of Rooper's Life of Sir Thomas.

"*Written with a coal to his daughter, Mistress Rooper, and sent to her;* which was the last thing that ever he wrote.

"Our Lord bless you, good daughter! and your good husband, and your little boy, and all yours, and all my children, and all my god-children, and all my friends! Recommend me, when ye may, to my good daughter *Cicely*, whom I beseech our Lord to comfort. And I send her my blessing, and to all her children, and pray her to pray for me. I send her an handkerchief: and God comfort my good son her husband!

"My good daughter *Daunce* hath the picture in parchment that you delivered me from my Lady Conyers; her name is on the back of it. Shew her that I heartily pray her, that you may send it in my name to her again, for a token from me, to pray for me. I like special well *Dorothy Coly;* I pray you be good unto her. I would wit whether this be she that you wrote me of: if not, yet I pray you be good to the other, as you may in her affliction, and to my good daughter *Joan* Aleyn* too. Give her, I pray you, some kind answer, for she sued hither to

* One of the servants of his daughter Margaret.

me this day to pray you, be good to her. I cumber you, good MARGARET, much; but I would be sorry it should be any longer than to-morrow—for it is Saint Thomas even, and the *Utas* of Saint Peter; and, therefore, to-morrow long I to go to God: it were a day very meet and convenient for me!

"I never liked your manner better, than when you kissed * me last: for I love, when daughterly love and dear charity hath no leisure to look to worldly courtesy. Farewell, my dear child, and pray for me! and I shall for you, and all your dear friends, that we may merrily meet in heaven! I thank you for your great cost. I send now my good daughter *Clement* her algorisme stone; and I send her, and my god-son, and all hers, God's blessing and mine! I pray you, at time convenient, recommend me to my good son, John More. I liked well his natural fashion.† Our Lord bless him, and his good wife, my loving daughter, to whom I pray him to be good, as he hath great cause; and that if the land of mine come to his hand, he break not my will concerning his sister *Daunce*. And our Lord bless *Thomas*, and *Austen*, and all that they shall have."

Margaret was married, during her father's lifetime, to WILLIAM ROOPER,‡ Esq. Prothonotary of the

* Alluding to her conduct on Tower-hill, noticed at p. xxx.

† His begging the blessing of Sir Thomas, when the latter returned from receiving judgment.

‡ Rooper lived thirty-three years a widower, after the decease of his wife, and died in January, 1557, in his eighty-second year. He was buried in the same grave

court of King's-bench, and survived her father nine years; on her death in 1544, she left five children.

with his beloved Margaret. As his epitaph, which was legible in Somner's time, and which has been given us by this antiquary, is now totally illegible, perhaps it may be acceptable to the reader—and not the less so, if given in its ancient Gothic character, as printed by Mr. Lewis;

Hic jacet venerabilis Vir Gulielmus Roper armiger, filius et haeres quondam Johannis Roperi armigeri, et Margareta uxor ejusdem Gulielmi, filia quondam Thomæ Mori militis summi olim Angliæ Cancellarij, Græcis, Latinisque literis doctissimi, qui quidem Gulielmus patri suo in officio prothonotariatus supremi Curie Banci Regii successit, in quo cum annis 54 fideliter ministrasset idem officium filio suo primogenito Thomæ reliquit. fuit is Gulielmus domi forisque munificens, mitis, misericors, incarceratorum, oppressorum, et pauperum baculus. Genuit ex Margareta uxore [quam unicam habuit] filios duos et filias tres, ex iis vidit in vita sua nepotes et pronepotes, uxorem in virili aetate amisit, viduatus uxore castissime vixit annos 33. Tandem, completis in pace diebus, decessit in senectute bona ab omnibus desideratus die quarto mensis Jan. Anno Christi salvationis 1557. aetatis vero sue 82.

During her lifetime, she was desirous of procuring the famous ROGER ASCHAM to be their tutor, but it seems that no persuasions could prevail upon him to leave the University of Cambridge. She therefore obtained the superintendance of Drs. Cole and Christopherson, the latter afterwards Bishop of Chichester—both of them "very famous at that time for their skill in the Greek language."* Her youngest daughter, MARY, was twice married; the second time, to Mr. JAMES BASSET: she is reported by Ascham to have been "an ornament to her sex, and of Queen Mary's court.—She was one of the Gentlewomen (so were they then called) of that Queen's privy-chamber, and translated into English part of her grandfather's *Exposition of the Passion of our Saviour*, wherein she exactly imitated Sir Thomas's style in English."†

More's second daughter, ELIZABETH, was married in the lifetime of her father to JOHN DANCY, son and heir to Sir JOHN DANCY. His third daughter, CECILIA, was married to GILES HERON, of Shacklewell, in Middlesex.

* Old Biogr. Britan. vol. v. 3168. † Ibid.

II. THE BIOGRAPHY OF SIR T. MORE,

Being an Account of the various Lives that have been published of Him.

THERE are few celebrated characters of antiquity of whom so many amusing and familiar anecdotes are extant, as of Sir Thomas More; and what gives them an additional zest, is, the apparent fidelity with which they are related. Plutarch enlivens the pages of his biography, by the little anecdotes or sayings which he introduces, connected with the hero of his story. Thus, when we are told that Alcibiades,* in his boyish years, on fighting with a youth, and being accused of *biting* his opponent *like a woman*, exclaimed, that he "*bit like a lion*"—we have as strong an idea of the spirit and quickness of this extraordinary character, as if we had been amused with a formal account of feats of arms, or of studied harangues. Also when we are told of the brilliant remarks, and witty equivoques, of our author, we imagine ourselves to be as thoroughly conversant with his character, as if we had lived among his contemporaries.

This species of biography is, of all others, if truth be rigidly attended to, the most delightful

* "Δάκνεις ὦ Αλκιβιάδη καθάπερ αἱ γυναῖκες· Ουκ εγωγε, εἶπεν, ἀλλ' ὡς οἱ λέοντες."—*Plut. Vitæ.* edit. Bryan, vol. ii. p. 7.

and satisfactory. Like the master touches of an artist, on the prominent points of a picture, these anecdotes give a decision and effect, which elaborate recitals are incapable of producing. They remind us of the spirit of Reynolds contrasted with the tame finishing of Hudson! Of all biographical productions, what is comparable with Boswell's Life of Johnson—which will be forgotten only with our language? Who can turn from the original thoughts, the acute remarks, and the powerful declamation with which this piece of biography abounds, to the cold and ponderous pages of Fiddes, or the laboured yet punctiliously accurate volumes of Hearne?

True it is, some lovers of English biography may still have much to lament in regard to the biography of More. Those who would gladly have been better acquainted with his political life—with his parliamentary speeches—with his judicial decrees—with his writings and history as an ambassador and courtier—may regret that so little of these things has been recorded, when, perhaps, so much might have been successfully detailed. But, in the ravages which time is hourly committing upon learning, and while even now, with all the boasted privileges of the press, and of a more advanced period of civilization, we witness the indifference shewn to valuable works, and the preservation of foolish and unprofitable ones—it becomes us rather to receive what has been handed down to us with gratitude, than to sigh

with impatient ardour for more. If we consider the peculiar *character* of the times when our author wrote, [when religious fanaticism was pretty nearly at its height,] it may surprise us that so much has been preserved, rather than that so much should have been lost. I will, however, no longer detain the reader with the formality of these preliminary remarks, but enter upon the subject matter of this division of the "Introduction."

A. D. 1550.

"Historia aliquot nostri Seculi Martyrum, viz. THOMÆ MORI, Joan. Fischeri, &c. 4to. 1550.

This work is noticed on the authority of Mr. Lewis, (Preface to Rooper's Life of Sir T. M. p. 1. note.) but I have never seen a copy of it. It appears to be the *first printed* piece of biography * of our author.

A. D. 1588.

"Tres Thomæ, seu De S. Thomæ Apostoli rebus gestis. De S. Thomæ Archiepiscopo Cantuarensi, et Martyre. D. THOMÆ MORI, Angliæ quondam Cancellarii Vita, &c. Authore THOMA STAPLETONO, Anglo. S. Theolog. Doctore. *Duaci, Ex Officina Joannis Bogardi,* CIↃ.IↃ.LXXXVIII. 8vo.

* The *death* of More was minutely related in a small 8vo. volume, which appeared the year after his execution, under the following title. "Expositio fidelis de Morte Thomæ Mori et aliorum insignium Virorum in Anglia.—*Antwerp.* 1536. 8vo. See Bibl. Paris. No 573.

This is a very rare book. It was written by Dr. Thomas Stapleton,* and is called by Granger, "the most curious of his works." The title-page is succeeded by a dedication to J. SARRAZINUS; on the back of the last page of which, begins a short chapter of Contents. Then follows the account of St. Thomas the Apostle, and of Thomas a Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, comprising one hundred and sixty-eight pages. MORE'S Life comprehends three hundred and seventy-five pages, separately numbered, with a portrait prefixed; at the back of which is "Authoris Epigramma ad Effigiem." A funeral Oration upon ARNOLDUS DE GANTHOIS, of twenty pages (unnumbered), concludes the volume.

Stapleton's life is, upon the whole, a valuable and elegantly written composition. The principles of the author, as a Catholic, must always be remembered in the opinions and descriptions given of persons and events. Wood is wrong in saying that it is "mostly taken from that written by Rooper," as there are many original passages in it; and in those

* The Editor of that facetious and truly original book of Travels, called "*Corryat's Crudities*," has contrived to refer to Stapleton's work, in the following manner. "D. Stapleton hath written a booke *de Tribus Thomis*. This is a TOM [comparing the author of the Travels—whose Christian name was *Thomas*—to an Irish harp,] fit to be comprised in *tribus Tomis*." See the edit. of 1776. 8vo. vol. i. sign. [l. 4.].

common to both lives, the narrative of Stapleton is more interesting and spirited: indeed this latter editor is allowed by his Protestant opponents "to have been the most acute and accurate of his party." See an account of the Author in Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. i. col. 292, 3.—Granger's Hist. Eng. vol. i. 224.

This work was reprinted at Cologne in 1599, according to Wood; and again, at the same place, in 1612. 8vo. according to Lewis. It was also reprinted in the Leipsic edition of More's Latin Works, 1689, folio.

A. D. 1626.

"The Mirror of Virtue in worldly greatnes, or the Life of Sir Thomas More, sometime Lo. of England." Paris, 8vo. 1626.

This edition is noticed by Wood and Hearne, as being printed in 1616; but Mr. Lewis, (Preface to Rooper's Life, p. 24.) tells us that it was printed in 1626, and that it is a transcript "of a faulty MS. of Mr. Rooper's, or else is altered by the editor, T. P." It is not a common book.

A. D. (circ. 1627.)

"D. O. M. S. The Life and Death of Sir Thomas Moore, Lord High Chancellour of England. Written by M. T. M. and dedicated to the Queen's most gracious Majestie." 4to. No date, nor place subjoined; but it is supposed to have been printed abroad.

This is the celebrated life of More, which was

written by his Great Grandson, who died about the year 1625.* It opens with the following Dedication.

"To the High and Mightie Princesse, our most gratious Queene and Soveraigne MARIE HENRIETTE, Queen of Great Britaine, France, and Irland, Ladie of the Iles of the British Ocean.

Most Gratious and Soveraigne Ladie,

"The authour of this Treatise, eldest Sonne by descent, and heire by nature of the family of that worthy Martyr, whose life is described in it; had he lived himself to have set it forth to the view of Christian eies, would not have thought upon any other patron and protectour to dedicate it unto, then your most excellent Majestie. For he was most constantly affected always to the French nation and crowne, next after the dutifull obedience which he ought to his owne natural soveraigne Lord and Soveraigne.

* In the reprint of this life, (vide sub. an. 1726), it is said that the author of it "was a person of consideration and character, the agent of the English clergy in Spain, and at the court of Rome, and a zealous assertor of the Pope's supremacy. And indeed he managed with such application and integrity in the business of his employment, that upon his leaving the world, the *English* Roman Catholic clergy erected a monument over his ashes at their own expence, as the testimony of the respect they bore him, and the sense they had of his services. He lies buried in the church of St. Lewis at Rome." Pref. iv.

And this his affection did he manifest on all occasions, but especiallie in the treatie of the happy marriage of your highnes, with the King our soveraigne Lord and Maister, assembling at his own costes and charges with unwearied industry, all the English persons of note and esteeme, that then were in and about Rome, and with them all, [as the mouth of them all] supplicating to his Holines for the dispatch of this most hope-full and happie contract, yeelding such reasons for the effecting thereof, as highlie pleased the chief Pastour of the Churche under Christ our Saviour. The same affection did he testifie sufficientlie in the last period of his life, leaving his bodie to be buried in the French church, where with great content of the French Nobilitie it lieth interred, &c." [This is the whole of the Dedication which is interesting, as relating to the author; it continues for three pages more.]

"The Preface to the Reader," which gives an interesting account of the author and of the work, follows the Dedication. The first page of the preface is numbered 1, and the numbering continues regularly from thence to the end of the volume, which, exclusively of the Dedication, comprehends four hundred and thirty-two pages. The "twelfth Chapter," relating to the Life of Sir Thomas, ends at p. 392. the remainder of the work is devoted to an account "Of Sir Thomas More's Bookes."

We are told by the Editor of its re-publication, [see A. D. 1726.] that "'twas so greedily sought after upon its first publication, that in Mr. Wood's time, *t'was scarce to be had;* and it appears from the few sheets of Sir Thomas More's life, which Dr. Fiddes has left behind him, that, notwithstanding all his enquiries after proper materials for the compiling of his history, he had never seen it." Of its scarcity and intrinsic merit there can be but one opinion. It is, in every respect, the most valuable piece of biography extant of More. A copy of it occurs in the Bibl. Harl. vol. iv. No. 9089. with MS. notes. I have been favoured with the loan of one, to make these observations, from the curious collection of Mr. Stace, the bookseller; who was fortunate enough to obtain two copies in very fine condition.

A. D. 1652. 1662.

"THO. MORI Vita et Exitus: or The History of SIR THOMAS MORE, sometime Lord High Chancellor of England. *Collected out of several Authors,* By J. H. [John Hoddesdon,] Gent. London, Printed by E. Cotes, for George Eversden, at the Golden Ball, in Aldersgate street, 1652. 8vo. 1662. 12mo.

Anthony Wood and Mr. Lewis notice only the second edition of this work: the first is rather a rare book. A copy of each (the first with a portrait prefixed, unknown to Granger, and formerly belonging to Mr. Thomas Baker) is in my possession. It

opens with the following quaintly written dedication.

"To my worthily most honoured Kinsman, C. HODDESDON, Esq.

DEAR SIR,

"*Besides the Obligation I have to you by Nature, your Goodnesse hath given you the greatest interest that may be in my time and Studies; of which, if I have made any improvement, it is purely the Product & Influence of your Favour: The sense hereof hath made me prefix your name to this endevor of mine, upon no other designe then to make a publique profession that myself & studies hold of you as of the chief Lord. And if the pettiness of what I tender you here, be apt to disable the justice of mine acknowledgements, you can inform yourself that a Rose or a pound of Cummin, hath often been all the Rent service that hath been reserved upon estates of no inconsiderable value.*

"*That, that I here present you with, is the Life of Sir* Thomas More, *one of the greatest ornaments of the law; a man of those high employments, and so great parts to goe through them, that he can be no stranger to you, nor doubt of a kinde reception, especially seeing you are of as eminent courtesie as parts; I shall not venture to give any further Character of him or commend him to you, but rather on the contrary expect that he will plead the boldnesse of my* Dedication, *and assure myself a favourable acceptance of my poor labours from his vast worth.*

" *Sir, I have dealt with him as his nurse did* *— *thrown him over the hedge into your Armes, lest his memory should perish in the waters of* Lethe: *Or as some common Souldier, who if he have but common civilitie, finding some person of great quality lying amongst the dead bodies and ready to become one of them, will make a shift with a rude charity to lugger him out of the field, and think him self sufficiently rewarded with the honour of preserving his life: I,* [*as I travelled over the Memorials af the ancient* Heroes] *met with this worthy Knight breathing his last in the field of honour, and an ordinary sense of humanity ingaged me* [*though unworthy that office*] *to rescue him from oblivion; and handsomely I confesse, but excusably, because I could no better; my weak capacity, in the very beginning of this enterprize, being overwhelmed with the plenty and copiousnesse of the subject.*

" *I am confident, King* Henry the Eight *was not so much his enemy, as to forbid posterity to think well of him; nor his sentence so severe, as to condemne his Name, as well as his Body, to an execution; his Name no more deserved to die, then my pen does to preserve it; yet* [*which affords me some comfort*] *what the Reader wants in this Book, hee'l finde in his Life: with which also* (*I hope*) *I have a good plea for the inconsiderablenesse of any thing, which I can offer in returne of all those obligations you have been pleased to lay*

* See p. ix. before.

upon me, which since I am never able to wipe off by strict and punctuall satisfaction, I presume your goodnesse will by a favorable acceptation hold me discharg'd in Chancery:

I am Sir,
Your most affectionate Kinsman,
To serve & honour you,
J. H.

The author of this publication is rightly supposed by Wood to have taken his materials from the foregoing works: indeed the title page expresses this. It may be called rather an interesting abridgment of the principal events of More's life. The biography extends only to page 134: the remaining sixteen pages are devoted to "A View of Sir Thomas More's Wit and Wisdome," and to "some few of his Apothegmes, collected out of Dr. Stapleton." The first edition is a small crown octavo volume, tolerably well printed; the second is a reprint of the first, in duodecimo, but it is very indifferently executed.

A. D. 1716.

"GULIELMI ROPERI Vita D. Thomæ Mori, Equitis Aurati, lingua Anglicana contexta. E Codice MS. penes Edv. Bartonum e Collegio Orielensi, Oxoniæ. 8vo. Oxon. 1716. *Edited by* HEARNE. At p. 59. there is "A letter of More to the University of Oxford, against those scholastic disputants, who,

calling themselves Trojans, attacked all the liberal arts, particularly Græcian; contending they should be held in disrespect, and reprobating those who cultivated them."

This is an uncommon book. It was the first publication of the interesting life of Sir T. More, by his son-in-law, ROOPER; and although in purity of text, and importance of materials, it is somewhat eclipsed by Mr. Lewis's edition of the same life, yet it should be possessed by all those to whom the name of More is dear.

A. D. 1726.

"THE LIFE OF SIR THOMAS MORE, Knight, Lord High Chancellour of England under K. Henry the Eighth, and His Majesty's Embassadour to the Courts of France and Germany. By his Great-Grandson, Thomas More, Esq. London: printed for James Woodman and David Lyon, in Russel Street, Covent Garden, M.DCC.XXVI. 8vo

This is a very faithful reprint of the 4to edition of 1627, containing a new and judicious preface, some short notes at the bottom of the page, and an index. The editor, of whose name and character I am ignorant, thus observes of his work at p. xvii. of the preface. "To make it as useful as might be, I have been at the pains to compare it with the several lives of SIR THOMAS MORE, which have been given to us by others, and have made references in the margin to the several places where the like fact is

related. (The lives by Rooper and Stapleton are then alluded to.) And I may safely affirm, there is no circumstance of any moment taken notice of by either of these, that is not to be met with in the book before us. Mr. Hoddesdon's history is less to be accounted of; 'tis a bare abstract taken from our author, and the two writers we have mentioned above. But that the reader might be deprived of no satisfaction, it is also referred to among the rest."

This edition is very neatly and accurately printed, and *the notes* give it a decided preference to the 4to. edit. of 1627; however it may yield to it in rarity. It was reviewed, and copious extracts were made from it, in the New Memoirs of Literature, vol. iii. p. 143. 161.

A. D. 1729. 1731. 1765.

"The Life and Death of SIR THOMAS MORE, Knight, Lord High-Chancellor of England, in the reign of King Henry the VIIIth. Written by William Rooper, Esq. Prothonotary of the King's Bench. To which are added, Some Original Letters referred to in the Account of his Life." London, 8vo. 1729. 1731. With a Head. Dublin, 8vo. 1765.

I have placed these editions together, because the two latter are reprints of the first. The Editor is Mr. I. LEWIS: sufficiently known by his Life of Caxton, and other antiquarian publications. This is the same piece of biography as was written

by More's son-in-law, Rooper, which Hearne has published; but it is in many respects superior to it.

"As to the *present edition* of this life of Sir Thomas," (says Mr. Lewis at p. 22. of his Preface,) "I assure the reader its an exact copy of a MS. of it which I had from a neighbouring gentleman. It is very fairly written in the hand in common use in K. Henry VIII. and Q. Elizabeth's reign, about the beginning of which it seems to have been composed by Mr. Rooper, who was then about sixty five years old. I have compared it," continues Mr. Lewis, "with the late edition of his life by Mr. Hearne from his *Nonpareil* MS,* and, excepting in two places, where that MS. seems to claim the preference, it's very plain, that this is much more complete and perfect than the other, as representing intelligibly what in Hearne's edition is downright nonsense."

Mr. Lewis then gives a few specimens of the variations of the MSS; from which the superiority of his own is incontestably proved. His edition also has the advantage of "having such passages in the margin taken from Erasmus, and Sir Thomas's *own*

* "At the beginning of it, Hearne tells us, is this little note—"*in hoc signo vinces*"—This, he critically observes, is a sufficient proof that it was either copied from the original, or from some copy of great note—*risum teneatis?*" concludes Mr. Lewis!

works, [printed by Tottel,] as seemed to the Editor to give light to the history."—The letters at the end of the life, taken from the *latter* source, [now one of the rarest books in English literature] give an additional interest to the performance.

"Mr. Roper's life of his venerable father-in-law," says Mr. Seward, "is one of the few pieces of natural biography that we have in our language, and must be perused with great pleasure by those who love antient times, antient manners, and antient virtues." See his Anecdotes, vol. i. 89. edit. 1804. All these editions of Rooper's Life of More are rather scarce.

A. D. 1758.

"Memoirs of the Life of SIR THOMAS MORE, Lord High Chancellor of England, in the reign of Henry VIII. [*Prefixed to an edition of the* UTOPIA.] By Fred. Warner, L.L.D." London, 8vo. M.DCC.LVIII,

This is, perhaps, the most common edition of More's life. It is preceded by an elegantly penned Dedication to Sir Robert Henley, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal; in which the merits of our author and of his Utopia, are stated, upon the whole, with candour and discernment. In the Life, no references or notes are given; and although the narrative wants that naiveté and simplicity which characterise the preceding compositions, yet the

principal features of our author's character are delineated with sufficient interest and exactness.

A. D. 1807.

"Lives of BRITISH STATESMEN. By John Macdiarmid, Esq. Author of An Inquiry into the System of National Defence in Great Britain, and of an Inquiry into the Principles of Subordination. London: Printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme, 1807. 4to."

This elegant work comprehends the Lives of MORE, Cecil, Wentworth, and Hyde; the first one hundred and twenty-one pages being devoted to the *former* Statesman. Mr. Macdiarmid makes the life of our author rather instrumental to political narrative and opinions, than to private and domestic anecdotes. Many beautiful speeches, and many interesting traits of character are, however, recorded by him; and whatever is mentioned, is mentioned with a purity and eloquence of diction of which we have now few examples. The character of More (for it is not my province to speak of the other pieces of biography contained in the volume), is justly appreciated and vigorously drawn. In the Appendix, are some amusing particulars relating to our author; but in enumerating his English Works, Mr. M. does not appear to have been aware that these are described more copiously by Oldys in his British Librarian, p. 194. No. IV.

A. D. 1808.

" Memoirs of Sir Thomas More; with a new Translation of his Utopia, his King Richard III, and his Latin Poems. By Arthur Cayley, the younger, Esq. London, 1808. 2 vols. 4to. Cadell and Davies.

The first volume of this recent publication is appropriated to the Life of Sir Thomas More; the second, to a new translation of the Utopia—which will be noticed hereafter. The Author is known by his Life of Sir Walter Raleigh; which, as well as the present work, is extremely creditable to his talents. All the early poetry of More is judiciously interwoven in the narrative, and the principal events of his life are described from the best sources of information. The Appendix contains the Latin letters and Latin Poetry of More: but of his English works, rather a scanty catalogue is given. Neither Mr. Cayley, nor Mr. Macdiarmid, seem to have been aware of Oldys's British Librarian.

In the preceding account of Sir T. More, the reader will observe that I have confined myself only to those Lives of him which have been *separately* published; and that I have purposely omitted the mention of such as are incorporated in Dictionaries and Encyclopædias.

It may be worth while here to observe that Sir Thomas More has formed the subject of a Tragedy, written by the Author of the Village Curate,

the late Mr. Hurdis. Lond. 8vo. 1793. Second edit. pp. 132. The following are the

Characters.

HENRY VIII.
SIR JOHN MORE, Father to Sir Thomas.
TUNSTALL, Bishop of Durham.
DUKE OF NORFOLK.
BONVISE.
SIR THOMAS MORE.
ROPER,
DANCY.

LADY MORE.
MARGARET.
ELIZA.
CECILIA.
ANNE BULLEN.

The following may be considered a fair specimen of the talents of the author.

ACT V. *Scene changes to a Room in the Tower.*

SIR THOMAS *alone.*

Such is my home—a gloomy tenement,
And solitary as the peasant's hut
Upon the barren mountain. Not a soul
Deigns me a visit. All my company
Are toiling spiders, who consume the day
In spreading nets to catch the harmless fly,
An emblem of myself. For what am I
But a poor, helpless, weather-beaten insect,

That sought for shelter in the lowly shed,
And found within the spider tyranny.
Sometimes a mouse attends me for my crumbs.
I bid him welcome, but the whisker'd fool
Is still suspicious that I mean him wrong.
How kind was nature, when she made the brute,
To make him cautious how he trusted man!
For such a tyrant is he, that he whets
The murd'rous dagger often for himself,
And ever for his brother; sparing none,
His neighbour, or his kinsman, or his friend.
'Tis all his business to destroy himself,
And all his sport to trample on the brute.
Track him in all his ways, in war, in peace,
Seeking renown upon the battle's edge,
Amusement in the closet or the field,
His footsteps are all mark'd with savage bloodshed.
Philosophy and Faith have each their sword,
And murder, one for wisdom, one for truth.
The paths of glory are the paths of blood,
And what are heroes and aspiring kings
But butchers! Has not ev'ry prince his knife,
His slaughter-house, and victim? What am I
But a poor lamb selected from the flock,
To be the next that bleeds, where many a lamb,
As innocent and guiltless as myself,
Has bled before me? On this floor perhaps
The persecuted Harry breath'd his last
Under the sword of Gloster. Clarence here
Drank his last draught of Malmsey, and his son,
Poor hapless boy, pin'd infancy away;

All his acquaintance, sorrow and himself:
And all the world he knew, this little room.
Yes, here he sat, and long'd for liberty,
Which never found him: ending his sad youth
Under the tyrant's axe. And here perhaps
Assassination, at the dead of night,
With silent footstep, and extended arm,
Feeling her way to the remember'd bed,
Found the two breathing princes fast asleep,
And did her bloody work without remorse.
O horrible to think of! Such is man.
No beast, whose appetite is ever blood,
Wants mercy more. Shall I escape him? No.
No Marg'ret, no my daughter, no Eliza,
No my good girl, Cecilia. I must die
And leave my widow and my house to mourn.
Sorrow will overtake you, grievous loss,
Plunder, and beggary. Would that my eyes
Might once more see you all before I go.
Ha! what art thou? Have I obtain'd my prayer?
'Tis my dear Marg'ret. (*Enter Margaret.*)

III. THE WORKS OF SIR THOMAS MORE; WITH SPECIMENS OF THE SAME.

OLDYS, in his valuable, and formerly too much neglected, "*British Librarian,*" p. 194, has favoured us with an accurate but compressed account of the edition of More's English Works, which was carefully compiled by his nephew, RASTELL, *Serjeant at Law,* and printed by TOTTEL. The title of this voluminous book,* is as follows:

"The Workes of SIR THOMAS MORE, Knyght, sometyme Lord Chancellour of England; written by him in the Englysh tonge. Printed at London, at the costes of John Cawod, John Waly, and Richarde Tottel. Anno 1557."

The volume commences with the following DEDICATION, by Rastell.

"To the moste hygh and vertuous Princesse MARY, by the grace of GOD, quene of Englande, Spayne, Fraunce, both Sicilles, Jerusalem, and Ireland, defender of the

* Containing 1458 double-columned and closely printed black-letter pages. I am in possession of a fine and perfect copy of it, which was procured from the curious catalogue of books published at the close of last year by Mr. Ford of Manchester. See No. 155.

fayth, Arche-duchesse of Austria, Duchesse of Burgondy, Myllayne, and Brabant, Countesse of Haspurge, Flaunders, and Tyroll, her highnesse most humble and obedient subiect, Wylliam Rastell, serieant at lawe, wisheth health, wealth, honour, and felicitie, worldely and everlastyngly.

" When I considered with my selfe [moste gratious Soveraigne] what greate eloquence, excellent learninge, and morall vertues, were and be conteyned in the workes and bookes, that the wyse and godlie man, sir THOMAS MORE knighte, sometyme lorde Chancellour of Englande [my dere Vncle] wrote in the Englysh tonge, so many and so well, as no one Englishman [I suppose] ever wrote the like, whereby his workes be worthy to be hadde and redde of everye Englishe man, that is studious or desirous to know and learne, not onelye the eloquence and propertie of the English tonge, but also the trewe doctryne of Christes catholike fayth, the confutacion of the detestable heresyes or the godly morall vertues that apertaine to the framinge and fourminge of mennes maners and consciences, to live a vertuous and devout christen life, and when I further considered, that those workes of his were not yet all imprinted, and those that were imprinted were in severall volumes and bokes, whereby it were likely, that aswell those bokes of his that were already abrode in print, as those that were yet unprinted, should in time percase perish and utterly vanish away (to the great losse and detriment of many) unlesse they were gathered together and printed in one whole volume, for these causes (my most gracious liege Lady) I dyd diligently collect and gather together

as many of those his workes, bokes, letters, and other writinges, printed and unprinted in the English tonge. as I could come by, and the same [certain yeres in the evil world past, keping in my handes, very surely and safely] now lately have caused to be imprinted in this one volume, to the intent, not onely that every man that will now in our dayes, may have and take commoditie by them, but also that they may be preserved for the profit likewise of our posteritie. Which workes, whoso will take paines diligently and advisedly to peruse and rede, shall thereby shortly attain gret knowledge, aswel for the increasing of of all kindes of godly vertues and holy livinge, as for the confirming of his own faith, and eschuing and confuting of all perverse opinions, false doctrine, and devillyshe heresies if he be not utterly destitute of God's grace, and blended both with obstinate and stubburne malice, and also with proude and arrogant presumption.

" And this volume thus finished the last day of Aprill, in this year of oure Lorde God, 1557, I your graces humble, obediente, and faithfull subiect, do dedicate unto your most excellent maieste, as to that person, to whom specially of all worldelye creatures, I truste this boke shal be moste acceptable, both for that (I thinke) that it being red of many, as it is likely to be, shall much helpe forwarde your Maiesties most godly purpose, in purging this your realme of all wicked heresies (which are, thankes be to almighty God, thorowe his great goodnes and your Maiesties meanes, very much abated, and as I trust, if it may please god to graunt your highnes long to reigne over us, which I beseche him of his most mercifull goodnes to do, in time shal be clearely extinct) and for that also that

syr THOMAS MORE (the aucthor of these workes) whyle he lyved, dyd beare towardes your highnesse a speciall zeale, an entire affection, and reverent devocion: and on thother syde lykewyse your grace as it is well knowen) had towardes him in his life time, a benevolent mynde, and synguler favoure, not onelye for his great learnynge, but also for his moch more vertue. And I am fully perswaded, that your highnes good affection towardes him, is no whytmynysshed now after his death, but rather by his worthy workes and godly ende more and more encreased, who now (beynge with almyghtie GOD, and lyvynge with hym) with muche greater zeale and devocion towardes your maiestie, than he had whyle he lyved here in earth, ceaseth not to praye to God for the kinges maiestie, for your hyghnesse, your subiectes, your realmes, and domynions, and for the common welth, and catholyke religion of the same, and for all christen realmes also.

And this commodious and profytable boke thus beynge dedicated unto your hyghnes, I your obedient subiect most humblye praye and beseche your maiestie, to be the patrone and defendour of the same, whereby I am well assured, it shall muche the rather be ioyously embrased and had in estymacion in all trew Englyshe heartes."

This Dedication, remarkable rather for the warmth of its zeal, than for the truth of its predictions, is followed by "A Table of the workes and thinges conteyned in the volume," comprising two pages; which, again, is succeeded by "A Table of many Matters or Index to the volume. Collected and gathered

together by Thomas Paynell, priest;" comprehending twelve pages (unnumbered). After a blank leaf, we come to the

POETRY;

Mr. Cayley, in his life of Sir Thomas More, has, very judiciously, inserted the whole * of our Author's Poetry.—Before the publication of this life, I had

* The first effusion of More's youthful muse was styled "*How a Sergeant would learne to playe the Frere;*" "which," (says Mr. Ellis), "may possibly have suggested to the late Mr. Cowper the idea of his popular tale of "*John Gilpin.*" This, however, may reasonably be doubted; for Cowper never appears to have been a curious investigator of our early English Literature, and the narrative of these compositions is totally dissimilar. Whoever will consult Mr. Hayley's Life of Cowper, vol. ii. p. 60. 8vo. edit. may be informed of the origin of *John Gilpin*—which was written in a gloomy state † of mind, from some materials casually sup-

† It has been a matter of wonder with the greater part of Cowper's readers and critics, how it came to pass, that, he produced his most facetious letters and poems during a state of excessive mental depression? The following may possibly be thought to account for it:

"*Why melancholy Men are witty?*

"Is it because as Trees, set thick, hinder each other's growth, but transplanted singly thrive best—so scholars, in the University or Court, either thrive not, or, in their full seminaries, are not so much taken notice of—Whereas, if a while *melancholy and retired,* they gather more vivacity

adopted the same plan; but it is now rendered

plied the author by his friend Lady Austen. For More's poem, see "History of the English Language," prefixed to the quarto editions of Dr. Johnson's Dictionary.

As neither Rastell, Oldys, nor Ritson, have informed us when, or by whom the "*Sergeant and Frere*" was first printed, it may be necessary to observe that a copy of it, (which is also mentioned in Laneham's Catalogue of Capt.

and produce it with more confidence in all their witty and well digested discourses!

"For if the melancholy be not mixt with too much phlegm, but carries a temperate heat (as a dry light makes a wise mind), it causes a terse and more serene understanding. Whereas, when it is adust and sweltered with the continual excessive heat of discourse and company, (as lime burns when water is cast upon it,) it rather inclines to madness, than a serious constancy of well tempered wit. Or rather is not the reserved person of the nature of the melancholy elephant, whose brain being driest, so becomes the wisest amongst all bruit beasts?"

See an eccentric and rare little book, called "*Paradoxical Assertions and Philosophical Problems*, full of Delight and Recreations for all Ladies and Youthful Fancies. By R. H. 1659. 12mo. pt. ii. p. 35.

If this reasoning do not satisfy the reader, I must refer him to the ingenious Robert Burton, who tells us that melancholy people are "*humorous* beyond all measure—extraordinary merry—*feigning many absurdities*, vain, void of reason—restless in their thoughts and actions, continually meditating—they feign a company of *antick*, *fantastical conceits*, frivolous thoughts, &c. &c."—See his Anatomy of Melancholy, edit. 1676. p. 114.

superfluous. As, however, More's poetry has not found its way into the elegant volumes of Mr. G.

Coxe's collection,) occurs in Mr. Scott's (the bookseller) Catalogue of 1804, No. 710. and that it was first "Emprynted at London by Julyan Notary, in Powly's Churche Yarde." No date. See also Ritson's Bibliogr. Poet. 280.1.

The celebrated Poem or Ballad of "*The Not-Browne Mayd,*" [the prototype of Prior's well known "*Henry and Emma,*"] is supposed by Mr. Capell, in his "Prolusions," 8vo. 1760, to have been the model of More's "*Serjeant and Frere.*" The "Not-Brown Maid," was first printed in Arnolde's Chronicle, A. D. 1508. 1521.—See Cens. Literaria, vol. vii. p. 96. Dr. Percy has reprinted it from a collation of a copy of Arnolde, in the Public Library at Cambridge. It begins thus—(which will remind the reader of the structure of More's stanza—)

Be it ryght, or wrong,
These men among
On women do complayne
Affyrmynge this,
How that it is
A labour spent in vayne,

To love them wele;
For never a dele
They love a man agayne:
For late a man
Do what he can
Theyr favour to attayne,

Ellis, and as the reader may wish to peruse some specimens of it in the present work, I shall lay before

> Yet, yf a newe
> Do them persue,
> Theyr first true lover than
> Laboureth for nought;
> For from her thought
> He is a banyshed man.
>
> Reliques of A. E. Poetry, vol. ii. p. 29.

Mr. Capell thinks this ballad cannot be older than the year 1500, because in this, and in More's, "there appears a *sameness of rythmus*, and orthography, and a very near affinity of words and phrases." "But this reasoning," observes Dr. Percy, "is not conclusive; for if Sir Thomas More made this ballad his model, *as is very likely*, that will account for the sameness of measure, and in some respect for that of words and phrases, even though this had been written *long before:* and, as for the orthography, it is well known that the old printers reduced that of most books to the standard of their own times." Ibid. vol. ii. 27, 8, 9.

It should be observed that in the preceding extract from Dr. Percy's reprint, the first and second, and fourth and fifth verses, correspond with *his* first and third: agreeably to the regulation of the stanza in the black letter editions of More's Ballad; which Dr. Percy does not appear to have consulted. It will be seen from Evans's Collection of Old Ballads, that many of the Songs in the sixteenth century were written in the rythm of the present one of More.

him *the following;* which have been omitted by Dr. Johnson.

1. "MAYSTER THOMAS MORE, in his youth devysed in hys fathers house in London, a goodly hanging of fyne paynted clothe, *with nyne pageauntes,* and verses over of every of those pageauntes; which verses expressed and declared what the *Ymages* in those pageauntes represented: and also in those pageauntes were paynted the thynges that the verses over them dyd (in effecte) declare—which verses here followe.

"In the *first pageaunte* was painted a boy playing at the top and squyrge: and over this pageaunte was writen as foloweth:

Chyldhod,

I am called Chyldhod, in play is all my mynde,
To caste a coyte, a cokstele, and a ball.
A toppe can I set, and dryve it in his kynde.
But would to God these hateful bookes all,
Were in a fyre brent to pouder small!
Than myght I lede my lyfe alwayes in play:
Whiche life god sende me to myne endyng day.

"In the *second pageaunte* was paynted a goodly freshe yonge man, rydyng uppon a goodly horse, havynge an hawke on his fyste, and a brase of gray howndes folowyng him. And under the horse fete, was paynted the same boy that in the fyrst pageaunte was playinge at the top and squyrge.

And over this second pageaunte the wrytyng was thus:

Manhod.

Manhod I am, therefore I me delyght
To hunt and hawke, to nourishe up and fede
The grayhounde to the course, the hawke to the flyght,
And to bestryde a good and lusty stede:
These thynges become a very man in dede!
Yet thynketh this boy his pevishe game swetter,
But what no force, his reason is no better.

"In the *third pageaunt*, was paynted the goodly yonge man, in the seconde pageaunt—lyeng on the grounde. And uppon him stode ladye Venus, goddes of love; and by her, uppon this man, stode the lytle god Cupyde. And over this thyrde pageaunt, this was the wrytyng that foloweth;

Venus and Cupyde.

Who so ne knoweth the strengthe power and myghte,
Of Venus and me her lytle sonne Cupyde,
Thou Manhod shalt a myrour bene a ryght,
By us subdued for all thy great pryde,
My fyry dart perceth thy tender syde
Now thou whiche erst despysedst children small,
Shall waxe a chylde agayne and be my thrall."

"In the *fourth pageaunte* was paynted *an old sage father* sittynge in a chayre. And lyeng under his fete was paynted the ymage of Venus and Cupyde

that were in the thirde pageaunte. And over this fourthe pageaunte the scripture was thus;

Age.

Old Age am I, with lokkes thynne and hore,
Of our short lyfe, the last and best parte:
Wyse and discrete: the publike wele, therefore,
I helpe to rule, to my labour and smart:
Therefore Cupyde withdrawe thy fyry dart,
Chargeable matters shall of love oppresse,
Thy chyldish game and ydle bysinesse.

"In the *fifth pageaunt* was paynted an image of Death: and under his fete lay the olde man in the fourthe pageaunte. And above this fift pageant, this was the saying;

Deth.

Though I be foule ugly lene and mysshape,
Yet there is none in all the worlde wyde,
That may my power withstande or escape:
Therefore sage father, greatly magnifyed,
Discende from your chayre—set aparte your pryde—
Witsafe* to lende (though it be to your payne)
To me a fole, some of your wise brayne.

"In the *sixt pageant* was painted *lady Fame.* And under her fete was the picture of Death that was painted in fift pageant. And over this sixt pageaunt the writyng was as foloweth;

* Vouchsafe.

Fame.

Fame I am called, marvayle you nothing,
Though with tonges am compassed all rounde,
For in voyce of people is my chiefe livyng:
O cruel death, thy power I confounde!
When thou a noble man hast brought to grounde
Maugry thy teeth to lyve cause him shall I,*
Of people in parpetuall memory.

"In the *seventh pageant* was paynted the ymage of *Tyme*, and under his fete was lyeng the picture of Fame that was in the sixt pageant. And this was the scripture over the seventh pageaunt,

Tyme.

I, whom thou seest with horyloge† in hande,
Am named tyme; the Lord of every houre;
I shall in space destroy both see and lande.
O simple Fame, how darest thou man honoure,
Promising of his name an endlesse floure!
Who may in the world have a name eternall?
When I shall in proces distroy the world and all!

"In the *eyght pageant* was pictured the ymage of *lady Eternitie*, sittyng in a chayre, under a sumptious clothe of estate, crowned with an imperiall crown. And under her fete lay the picture of Time that was in the seventh pageant. And above this eight pageaunt, was it written as foloweth:

* "In spite of thy teeth, I shall cause him to live."
† A dial; time-piece.

Eternitee.

Me needeth not to bost, I am Eternitie!
The very name signifyeth well,
That myne empyre infinite shal be.
Thou mortall Tyme, every man can tell,
Art nothyng els but the mobiltie
Of sonne and mone chaungyng in every degre!
When then they shall leve theyr course thou shalt be brought,
For all thy pride and bostyng, into nought.

"In the *nynth pageant* was paynted *a Poet* sitting in a chayre. And over this pageant were there writen these verses in Latin folowyng.

THE POET.

Has fictas quemcunque juvat spectare figuras,
(Sed mira veros quas putat arte homines.)
Ille potest veris animum sic pascere rebus,
Ut pictis oculos pascit imaginibus.
Namque videbit uti fragilis bona lubrica mundi
Tam cito non veniunt, quàm cito pretereunt.
Gaudia, laus et honor, celeri pede omnia cedunt,
Qui manet excepto semper amore dei.
Ergo homines levibus jamjam diffidite rebus,
Nulla recessuro spes adhibenda bono.
Qui dabit æternum nobis pro munere vitam,
In permansuro ponite vota deo.

The remaining original poetical compositions of our author have the following titles; 2. "A ruful lamentacion (written by Master Thomas More in his youth), of the deth of quene Elizabeth, mother to

king Henry the eight, wife to king Henry the seventh, and eldest doughter to king Edward the fourth, which quene Elizabeth dyed in childbed in February, in the yere of our lord, 1503, and in the 18. yere of the raigne of king Henry the seventh."

This is given at length by Dr. Johnson, in his "History of the English Language," prefixed to his Dictionary: it has a few pretty thoughts, but is, upon the whole flat and uninteresting.

3. "Certain meters in English written by Master Thomas More in hys youth for the *Boke of Fortune*, and caused them to be printed in the begynnyng of that boke."

These comprise seven pages of the original folio edition, and are also incorporated in the 4to. Dictionary of Dr. Johnson; though they are hardly worth the trouble of transcription. "The Boke of Fortune," to which they were prefixed, is said by Ritson, (Bibliogr. Poet. 281.) to be "unknown."

The short "ballettes" of 4. "Lewys the lost lover," and 5. "Davy the dycer," inserted at p. 1432, 3. of the folio edition, and also quoted by Dr. Johnson, seem to be the whole of More's original poetry.

At the conclusion of his "Lyfe of John Picus, Earle of Mirandula," we have twelve pages of very dull poetry, under the following titles:

6. "Twelve rules of John Picus, Earl of Mirandula, partely exciting, partely directing a man in spiritual bataile.

7. " The twelve weapons of spirituall battayle which every manne shoulde have at hand, when the pleasure of a sinnefull temptacion commeth to his minde."

This is probably duller than the preceding. We have next

8. " The twelve properties or condicions of a lover."

This is a religious piece, and has some little merit. It compares our temporal attachments with what should be our spiritual ones: thus, as we ardently prefer one individual to another, so ardent should be our affection towards God. The following are among the best specimens of this composition.

The iii. Propertie.

The third point of a perfit lover is,
To make him freshe; to see that al thing bene
Appointed wel, and nothing set amis;
But all well fashioned, proper, goodly, clene,
That in his persone there be nothing sene
In speache, apparaile, gesture, looke, or pace,
That may offende or minish any grace.

The x. Propertie.

The lover is of color dead and pale,
There will no sleepe into his eyes stalke,
He savoureth neither meate, wine, nor ale,
He mindeth not what men about him talke;
But eate he, drinke he, sitte, lye downe, or walke,
He burneth ever, as it were with fire,
In the fervent heate of his desire.

Here shoulde the love of GOD ensaumple take,
To have him continually in remembraunce;
With him in prayer and meditacion wake,
Whyle other playe, revil, sing, and daunce.
None earthly joye, disporte, or vayne pleasaunce,
Should him delite, or any thyng remove
His ardent minde from God, his heavenly love.

The xi. Propertie.

Diversly passioned is the lover's hart,
Now pleasaunt hope, now dread and grievous fere,
Now perfit blisse, now bitter sorowe smart,
And whether his love be with him, or els where,
Oft from his eyes there falleth many a tere!
For very joy, when they together bee—
When they be sundred, for adversitee.

These specimens of poetry may be sufficient to convince the reader that the celebrity of our author could never have rested upon the slender foundation of his *Muse*. Mr. Ellis observes * that More's "Poems possess considerable merit, though they are too diffuse and languid:" probably the poem of the "*Pageauntes*" is next in merit to the "*Sergeant and Frere*." The remainder, both original and translated, can be read only as a matter of curiosity.†

* Specimens of the Early English Poets, vol. ii. 8. note.

† More's Great Grandson entertained a very different opinion of these poems; with what justice the reader is left to determine. The *Latin poetry* of our author was unquestionably more successful, and received the merited

Whether More ever continued his poetical attempts, or whether he was convinced, from the preceding, that he was an unsuccessful Bard—or whether he had really an aversion to poetry—can be only matter of conjecture. We have certainly no reason to regret the cessation of the labours of his Muse.

Our attention may now be called to the more interesting parts of our author's works, relating to his

PROSE.

The first prosaical work with which Rastell's ponderous folio opens, is called

1. "THE LIFE of JOHN PICUS, Erle of Myrandula, a great Lorde of Italy, an excellent connyng

commendations of a numerous tribe of foreign scholars—among whom, Rhenanus thus speaks of them to Pitcheymerus. "THOMAS MORE is marvellous in every respect; for he compoundeth most eloquently, and translateth most happily. How sweetly do his verses flow from him? how nothing in them seemeth constrained? how easy are all things there that he speaketh of? nothing is hard, nothing rugged, nothing obscure; he is pure, he is witty, he is elegant; besides, he doth temper all things with mirth, as that I never read a merrier man! I could think that the muses have heaped upon him alone all their pleasant conceits, and witty merriments: moreover, his quips are not biting, but full of pleasantness, and very proper; yea, rather any thing than stinging. For he jesteth, but without mordacity; he scoffeth, yet without contumely." Gr. grandson's Life, 4to. edit. p. 23. 4.

man in all sciences, and vertuous of living: with divers epistles and other workes of the sayd John Picus, full of greate science, vertue, and wisdome: whose life and woorkes bene worthy and digne to be read, and often to be had in memory. Translated out of Latin into Englishe by Maister Thomas More."

This is supposed to be the earliest of More's prose compositions, and was undoubtedly written in his youth.* It opens with the following epistolary dedication; which we find was composed "in the beginning of a new year."

"*Unto his right entirely beloved Sister in Christ, Joyeuce Leigh,* Thomas More, *greeting in our Lord.*†

It is, and of long time hath been, my well beloved sister, a custom in the beginning of the new year,

* "Finding his bodie, for all his austerity, ready still to endanger his soul, although at all times he shunned idleness more than any other man, he determined to marry; and therefore he propounded to himself, as a pattern of life, a singular layman, *John Picus*, Earl of Mirandula, who was a man famous for virtue, and most eminent for learning; his life he translated and set out, as also many of his most worthy letters, and his twelve precepts of good life; which are extant in the beginning of his English Works."—Great-grandson's Life, 4to. edit. 31. 2.

† In the ensuing Specimens of More's Prose Compositions, I have uniformly adopted the *modern orthography.*

(for) friends to send between, presents or gifts, as the witnesses of their love and friendship; and also signifying that they desire, each to other, that year, a good continuance and prosperous end of that lucky beginning. But commonly all those presents, that are used customably all in this manner between friends to be sent, be such things as pertain only unto the body; either to be fed, or to be clad, or some otherwise delighted: by which it seemeth, that their friendship is but fleshly, and stretcheth in manner to the body only. But forasmuch as the love and amity of Christian folk should be rather ghostly friendship than bodily—since that all faithful people are rather spiritual than carnal—[for, as the apostle saith, "We be not now in flesh, but in spirit, if Christ abide in us."] I, therefore, mine heartily beloved sister, in good luck of this new year, have sent you such a present as may bear witness of my tender love and zeal to the happy continuance and gracious in-

My reason for having taken this liberty must be stated in the sensible language of Mr. G. Ellis. [The Editor] "conceives, that, although some of the variations which have taken place in our mode of spelling may have been dictated by caprice, the greater number were adopted with a view to prevent ambiguity, and that *it is no injury to an author to render him more intelligible.*" Specimens of the Early English Poets, edit. 1790. Pref. p. v. Some good reasons for adopting the modern orthography, in works of this kind, may be seen in Mr. G. Burnett's Specimens of English Prose Writers, vol. i. Pref. p. xi.

crease of virtue in your soul. And whereas the gifts of other folk declare that they wish their friends to be worldly fortunate, mine testifieth that I desire to have you godly prosperous.

"These works, more profitable than large, were made in Latin by one *John Picus, Erle of Mirandula*, a lordship in Italy; of whose cunning and virtue we need here nothing to speak: forasmuch as, hereafter, we peruse the course of his whole life, rather after our little power slenderly, than after his merits sufficiently. The works are such, that truly, good sister, I suppose of the quantity there cometh none in your hand more profitable—neither to the achieving of temperance in prosperity, nor to the purchasing of patience in adversity, nor to despising of worldly vanity, nor to the desiring of heavenly felicity—which works I would require you gladly to receive, ne were it that they be such, that for the goodly matter (howsoever they be translated) may delight and please any person that hath any mean* desire and love to God. And that yourself is such one, as for your virtue and fervent zeal to God cannot but joyously receive any thing that meanly soundeth, either to the reproach of vice, commendation of virtue, or honour and laud of God; who preserve you!"

The *Life of Picus* consists of nine pages and half; the *Epistles* of the same person, fill an equal succeeding number. The Life is divided into a number of

* Moderate.

short chapters, of which the following are among the most interesting specimens. Considering, indeed, they were composed most probably before More had attained his twentieth year, and therefore at the close of the fifteenth century, they may reproach us with the trifling improvements which three centuries have wrought in our language.

Of his Parents and time of his Birth.

"In the year of our Lord God 1463, Pius the Second being then the General Vicar of Christ in his Church, and Frederick III. of that name ruling the Empire, this nobleman was born, the last child of his Mother Julia; a woman coming of a noble stock; his Father, hight * John Francis, a Lord of great honour and authority.

Of the Wonder that appeared before his Birth.

"A marvellous sight was seen before his birth: there appeared a fiery garland standing over the chamber of his Mother while she travailed, and suddenly vanished away: which appearance was, peradventure, a token that he which should that hour in the company of mortal men be born, in the perfection of understanding should be like the perfect figure of that round circle or garland; and that his excellent name should round about the circle of this whole world be magnified: whose mind should always, as the fire, aspire upwards to heavenly things: and whose fiery eloquence should, with an ardent heart, in time to come, worship and praise Almighty God with all his strength.

* Called.

And as that flame suddenly vanished, so should this fire soon from the eyes of mortal people be hid. We have often times read, that such unknown and strange tokens hath gone before, or followeth the nativity of excellent, wise, and virtuous men, departing, as it were, and (by God's commandment) severing the cradles of such special children from the company of other of the common sort: and shewing that they be born to the achieving of some great thing.

"But to pass over other: the great St. Ambrose, a swarm of bees flew about his mouth, in his cradle; and some entered into his mouth, and after that, issuing out again, and flying up on high, hiding themselves among the clouds, escaped both the sight of his father and of all them that were present. Which prognostication, one Paulinus making much of, expounded it to signify to us the sweet honey combs of his pleasant writing: which should shew out the celestial gifts of God, and should lift up the mind of men from earth into heaven."

Of his Person.

"He was of feature and shape seemly and beauteous; of stature goodly and high; of flesh tender and soft; his visage lovely and fair; his colour white, intermingled with comely red; his eyes grey and quick of look; his teeth white and even; his hair yellow and not too piked.

Five causes that in so short time brought him to so marvellous cunning.

"To the bringing forth of so wonderful effects in so small time, I consider five causes to have come together: first,

an incredible wit; secondly, a marvellous fast memory; thirdly, great substance. By the which, to the buying of his Books, as well Latin as Greek, and other tongues, he was especially holpen. VII. M. ducats he had laid out in the gathering together of volumes of all manner of literature; the fourth cause was his busy and indefatigable study; and the fifth was the contempt or despising of all earthly things.

Of his Liberality and contempt of Riches.

"Liberality only in him passed measure; for so far was he from the giving of any diligence to earthly things, that he seemed somewhat besprent* with the freckle of negligence. His friends oftentimes admonished him, that he should not all utterly despise riches; shewing him, that it was his dishonesty and rebuke, when it was reported (were it true or false), that his negligence and setting nought by money, gave his servants occasion of deceit and robbery. Nevertheless, that mind of his (which evermore on high cleaved fast in contemplation, and in the searching of nature's council) could never let down itself to the consideration and overseeing of these base, abject, and vile earthly trifles. His high steward came on a time to him, and desired him to receive his account of such money as he had in many years received of his: and brought forth his books of reckoning. *Picus* answered him in this way; "my friend," (saith he,) "I know well you have mought oftentimes, and yet may deceive me, and ye list: wherefore, your examination of these expences shall not need. There is no more to do—if I be ought in your debt, I shall pay

* Besprinkled.

is no more to do—if I be ought in your debt, I shall pay you by and by: if you be in mine, pay me, either now, if you have it, or hereafter, if you be now not able!

Of his Behaviour in the extremes of his Life.

" When that one *Albertus*, his sister's son, a young man, both of wit, cunning, and conditions, excellent—begun to comfort him against death, and by natural reason to shew him why it was not to be feared: but strongly to be taken, as that only thing which maketh an end of all the labour, pain, trouble, and sorrow of this short, miserable, deadly life—he answered, that this was not the chief thing that should make him content to die: because the death determineth the manifold incommodities and painfulness of this wretchedness of this life: but rather this cause should make him not content only, but also glad to die, for that death maketh an end of *sin:* in as much as he trusted the shortness of his life should leave him no space to sin and offend. He asked also all his servants forgiveness, if he had ever before that day offended any of them; for whom he had provided by his Testament VIII years before: for some of them, meat and drink: for some, money; each of them after their deserving. He shewed also to the abovenamed Albertus, and many other creditable persons, that the queen of Heaven came to him that night with a marvellous fragrant odour, refreshing all his members that were bruised with that fever, and promised him that he should not utterly die. He lay always with a pleasant and merry countenance, and in the very twitches and pangs of death he spake as though he beheld the Heavens open. And all

that came to him, and saluted him, offering him their service with very loving words, he received, thanked, and kissed. The executor of his moveable goods he made one *Antony* his Brother. The heir of his lands he made the poor people of the Hospital of Florence. And in this wise, into the hands of our Saviour, he gave up his spirit." p. 8.

How reasonable Men be changed into unreasonable Beasts.

There was sometime in Œæa, a woman called *Circe*, which by enchantment, (as Virgil maketh mention), used with a drink to turn as many men, as received it, into divers likeness and figures of sundry beasts: some into lions, some into bears, some into swine, some into wolves—which afterwards walked ever tame about her house, and waited upon her in such use or service as she list to put unto them. In likewise the flesh, if it makes us drunk in the wine of voluptuous pleasure, or makes the soul leave the noble use of his reason, and incline unto sensuality and affections of the body, then the flesh changeth us from the figure of reasonable men into the likeness of unreasonable beasts, and that diversely, after the convenience and similitude between our sensual affections and the brutish properties of sundry beasts. As the proud hearted man into a lion, the irous into a bear, the lecherous into a goat, the drunken glutton into a swine, the ravenous extortioner into a wolf, the false deceiver into a fox, the mocking jester into an ape: from which beastly shape may we never be restored to our own likeness again, unto the time we have cast up again the drink of the bodily affections, by which we were into these figures

enchanted. When there cometh sometimes a monstrous beast to the town, we run and are glad to pay some money to have a sight thereof: but I fear if men would look upon themselves advisedly, they should see a more monstrous beast nearer home: for they would perceive themselves, by their wretched inclination to divers beastly passions, changed in their soul, not into the shape of one, but of many beasts; that is to say, of all them whose brutish appetites they follow. Let us then beware, as PICUS counselleth us, that we be not drunken in the cups of *Circe;* that is to say, in the sensual affections of the flesh; lest we deform the image of God in our souls, after whose image we be made, and make ourselves worse than idolaters. For if he be odious to God, which turneth the image of a beast into God—how much is he more odious, which turneth the image of God into a beast?!" p. 10.

2. "THE HISTORY OF KING RICHARD THE THIRDE, (unfinished) written by Master Thomas More, then one of the under-sheriffs of London: about the year of our Lorde 1513. Which worke hath bene before this tyme printed, in Hardynge's Chronicle, and in Hally's Chronicle: but very much corrupte in many places, sometyme havyng lesse, and sometime having more, and altered in wordes and whole sentences: muche varying from the copie of his own hand, by which this is printed."

Such is the title prefixed by the editor, Rastell, to this edition of More's celebrated history of Richard the III.—" which, says Mr. Laing, [in an elaborate

and excellent appendix to the 12th. vol. of Dr. Henry's Hist. of Gr. Britain, p. 395.] has been transcribed in every subsequent chronicle, adopted by Polydore Virgil, and followed almost implicitly by modern historians." It is supposed to have been first written in the Latin language as early as the year 1508. Of its *authenticity* a few words will be presently said.

The following specimen of More's style, from this popular work, may not be unacceptable to the reader; particularly as it has been omitted by Dr. Johnson and Mr. Burnett. There are parts of it written with peculiar force and interest.

The Description of Shore's Wife.

This woman was born in London, worshipfully friended, honestly brought up, and very well married, saving somewhat too soon; her husband an honest citizen, young and goodly, and of good substance. But forasmuch as they were coupled before she was well ripe, she not very fervently loved for whom she never longed. Which was happily the thing that the more easily made her incline unto the king's appetite when he required her. Howbeit, the respect of his royalty, the hope of gay apparel, ease, pleasure and other wanton wealth, was able soon to pierce a soft tender heart. But when the king had abused her, anon her husband (as he was an honest man and one that knew his good, not presuming to touch a king's concubine), left her up to him altogether. When the King died, the Lord

Chamberlain took her: which in the King's days, although he was enamoured with her, yet he forbare her, either for reverence or for a certain friendly faithfulness. Proper she was and fair; nothing in her body that you would have changed, but if you would have wished her somewhat higher. Thus say they that knew her in her youth. Albeit some that now see her (for yet she liveth) deem her never to have been well visaged. Whose judgment seemeth to me, somewhat like as though men should guess the beauty of one long before departed, by her scalp taken out of the charnel-house: for now she is old lean, withered, and dried up, nothing left but [sh]rivild skin and hard bone. And yet being even such, whoso will advise her visage, might guess and devise which parts, how filled, would make it a fair face. Yet delighted not men so much in her beauty as in her pleasant behaviour. For a proper wit had she, and could both read well and write: merry in company, ready and quick of answer, neither mute nor full of babble, sometimes taunting without displeasure and not without disport. The King would say that he had three concubines, which in three divers properties diversly excelled. One the merriest, another the wiliest, the third the holiest harlot in his realm, as one who no man could get out of the church lightly to any place, but it were to his bed. The other two were somewhat greater personages, and, nathless, of their humility content to be nameless; and to forbear the praise of those properties. But the merriest was this SHORE'S *wife*, in whom the King therefore took special pleasure. For many he had, but her he loved; whose favour, to say the truth, (for sin it were to bely the

devil) she never abused to any man's hurt, but to many a man's comfort and relief. Where the King took displeasure, she would mitigate and appease his mind: where men were out of favour, she would bring them in his grace. For many that had highly offended, she obtained pardon. Of great forfeitures she gat men remission. And, finally, in many weighty suits, she stood many men in great stead, either for none, or very small, rewards, and those rather gay than rich. Either for that she was content with the deed itself well done, or, for that she delighted to be sued unto, and to shew what she was able to do with the King; or, for that wanton women and wealthy be not always covetous. I doubt not some shall think the woman too slight a thing to be written of, and set among the remembrances of great matters: which they shall specially think, that happily shall esteem her only by that they now see of her. But me seemeth the chance so much the more worthy to be remembered, in how much she is now in the more beggarly condition; unfriended, and worn out of acquaintance, after good substance; after as great favour with the Prince, after as great suit and seeking to with all those that in those days had business to speed; as many other men were in their times, which be now famous only by the infamy of their ill deeds. Her doings were not much less; albeit they be much less remembered because they were not so evil. *For men use, if they have an evil turn, to write it in marble:* and *whoso doth us a good turn*, we *write it in dust* —which is not worst proved by her: for, at this day, she beggeth of many at this day living, who, at this day, had begged if she had not been!" p. 56.

A word or two remains to be said about the *authenticity of the facts* related in this history. Mr. Hume has bestowed the most unqualified commendation upon the work. Mr. Macdiarmid has implicitly adopted the sentiments of Hume, without calling the reader's attention to the doubts started by Buck and Mr. H. Walpole, and, afterwards, so sagacaciously confirmed by Mr. Laing, in the Appendix before alluded to.* Mr. Burnett, in his "Specimens of English Prose Writers," vol. i. p. 383, &c. has condensed the arguments of Mr. Laing; and from both it would appear that Cardinal [afterwards Archbishop] MORTON,† was *the original author* of this history, commonly known by the name of More's. "A Latin history of Richard, composed by that prelate was preserved in the last century by Roper, a descendant of More, to whom, as a favourite pupil the book had devolved." [Buck apud Kennet 546.] "That such was the source of More's information, the *substratum* on which he constructed his history, is farther confirmed by the English edition; which extends beyond the period of Richard's accession, &c." The subject is resumed and continued by Hall and Grafton, in a manner equally minute and circumstantial, nor apparently less authentic; and as the particulars could only be obtained from Morton, I conclude that they, and More, had access to the

* See p. lxxxiii. ante. † Vide post. p. 45. note.

same original information, and attribute the *materials* of the history in question to Morton; the *ornamental* and *classical varnish* to More." "I venerate too much," says Mr. Laing, "in another place, the character of Sir Thomas More, not to attribute, if possible, his mistakes to ignorance; but I am afraid that his narrative discovers, in some places, an intended and artful deviation from the truth." See Mr. G. Burnett's Specimens, vol. i. p. 388. Appendix to Dr. Henry, vol. xii. p. 397. 405.

We are now reluctantly to take leave of the most interesting compositions of our author, and notice those which are devoted to the dry, and too frequently, harsh and uninstructive subjects of *polemical* divinity. It is deeply to be regretted that More, as he grew older, ceased to cultivate the early bent of his genius for the *belles-lettres* department of literature. His success in what he *has* executed in this department, leaves us to acknowledge the disappointment which posterity has experienced from his treatises on the Catholic and Protestant controversy; for, in truth, More is unworthy of himself in almost every thing which he has written upon the subject.

That his religious writings sometimes evince fertility of fancy, and strength of language, cannot be denied: but that he is, upon the whole, rather coarse than witty, and flimsy than argumentative—that he has too frequently treated the serious subjects upon which he wrote, with a levity and vulgarity in-

consistent with the character of a pious and learned man—must also be as readily conceded. More has, indeed, in too many instances, substituted personal abuse for licensed raillery; and while, with the ancients before him, and Erasmus as a contemporary guide, he strove to impart a classical spirit to his productions, he has not only fallen considerably beneath himself, but has set a very striking example how great talents and great virtues may be sacrificed at the shrine of misplaced zeal.

What Dr. Knight says upon this subject, is not very wide of the truth. "Let any one but read the vindication of our Protestant faith by poor JOHN FRITH, a boy in effect; and a naked prisoner—and then run over the answers and oppositions of the noble Lord Chancellor, Sir Thomas More, and compare the sense, the style, the spirit of them both—and he need not be told on which side the advantage lies."* But I proceed to enumerate the remaining works of our author.

* Life of Dean Colet, p. 104. 5. There was too good cause, I fear, for the following pertinent remarks of More's friend, Erasmus, in one of the epistles of the latter. "Olim etiam reverenter audiebatur Hereticus, et absolvebatur si satisfaciebat: sin convictus perstitisset, extrema pœna erat, non admittebatur ad Ecclesiasticam Communionem. Nunc alia res est Hæreseos crimen; et tamen ob quamlibet levem causam, statim hoc habeant in ore "*Hæresis est!* Olim Hæreticus habebatur, qui dissentiebat ab Evangeliis,

3. " A Treatyce (unfynyshed) upon these wordes of holye Scrypture, " *Memorare novissima, et in eternum non peccabis.* Remember the last thynges and thou shalt never synne." Made about the year of our lorde 1522, by Sir Thomas More then knyghte, and one of the privye counsayle of King Henry theight, and also under treasorer of Englande."

This treatise extends from page 72 to page 102 inclusive, of Tottel's edition. The ensuing specimen shews how forcibly and pleasingly our author could write when he was divested of personal feeling.

Spiritual Pleasures.

Now see the blindness of us worldly folks! how precisely we presume to shoot our foolish bolt, in those matters most in which we least can skill. For I little doubt, but that among four thousand, taken out at adventure, we shall not find four score, but they shall boldly affirm it for a thing too painful, busily to remember these *Four Last Things.* And yet durst I lay a wager, that of those four

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ab Articulis fidei, et his quæ cum his parem obtinerent authoritatem. Nunc si quis unquam dissentiat a Thoma, vocatur Hæreticus; imo, si quis a commentitia ratione quam heri Sophista quispiam in Scholis commentus est. Quicquid non placet, quicquid non intelligunt, *Hæresis est;* Græce scire Hæresis est; expolite loqui Hæresis est; et quicquid seipsi non faciunt, *Hæresis est.*" Erasmi Epist, Basil, 1521. p. 477. cited by Dr. Knight.

thousand, you shall not find fourteen that hath deeply thought on them four times in all their days. If men would vouchsafe to put in proof and experience the operation and working of this medicine, the remembrance of these four last things, they should find therein, not the pleasure of their life lost, but so great a pleasure grow thereby, that they never felt the like before; nor would have supposed that ever they should have felt any such. For it is to be known, the like as we be made of two far divers and unlike substances, the body and the soul, so we be apt and able to receive two divers and unlike pleasures; the one carnal and fleshly, the other ghostly and spiritual. And like as the soul excelleth the body, so doth the sweetness of *Spiritual Pleasure* far pass and excel the gross and filthy pleasure of all fleshly delight: which is, in truth, no very true pleasure, but a false counterfeit image of pleasure. And the cause why men be so mad thereon, is only for ignorance, and lack of knowledge of the other. As those that lack insight of precious stones, hold themselves as well content and satisfied with a beryl or chrystal well counterfeited, as with a right natural diamond. But he that by good use and experience, hath in his eye the right mark and very true lustre of the diamond, rejecteth and will not look upon the counterfeit, be it ever so well handled, ever so craftily polished! And trust it well that, in likewise, if men would well accustom themselves to spiritual pleasure, and *that sweet feeling that virtuous people have of the good hope of Heaven*, they would shortly set at nought, and at length abhor, the foul delight and filthy liking that riseth of sensual and fleshly pleasure; which is never so pleasantly spiced with delight and liking,

but that it bringeth therewith such a grudge and grief of conscience, that it maketh the stomach wamble,* and fare as it would vomit. And yet, notwithstanding, such is our blind custom, that we persevere therein without care or cure of the better: as a sow, content with draffe dirt and mire, careth neither for better meat nor better bed.

"Think not that every thing is pleasant that men for madness laugh at. For thou shalt in Bedlam see one laugh at the knocking of his own head against a post, and yet there is little pleasure therein! But ye think peradventure this sample as mad as the madman, and as little to the purpose. I am content ye so think. But what will ye say, if ye see men that are taken and reputed wise, laugh much more madly than he? Shall ye not see such laugh at their own craft, when they have, as they think, wilily done their neighbour wrong? Now whoso seeth not that *his* laughter is more mad than the laughter of the madman, I hold him madder than both!" p. 72.

4. "A Dialogue of Syr Thomas More, Knyghte; one of the counsaill of our Soverayne Lord the Kinge, and Chancellour of his Duchy of Lancaster. Wherein be treatyd divers maters, as of the Veneracion and *Worship of Ymages* and relyques, praying to saintes, and goying on pylgrimage. With many other thinges touchyng the pestilent secte of Luther and Tyndale, by the tone bygone in Saxony: and by the tother laboured to be brought into England. Made in the yere of our Lord 1528."

* *Overturn, heave.*

This was among the most popular of More's controversial writings, and ran through two editions in two years; the first was printed in 1529, and is accurately described by Herbert, whose copy of it is in my possession. In the British Museum there is a copy of the second edition of 1530. The work extends from page 105 to 288 inclusive, in Tottel's edition. The following passage is a proof of the skill with which our author could treat the subject on which he was writing.

Why Heretics speak against Images.

"But now, as I began to say, since all names spoken or written be but images, if you set nought by the name of Jesus spoken or written, why should you set nought by his image, painted or engraven, that representeth his holy person to your remembrance, as much and more too, as doth his name written? Nor these two words, *Christus Crucificus*, do not so lively represent us the remembrance of his bitter passion, as doth a blessed image of the crucifix; neither to a lay man, nor unto a learned. And this perceive these Heretics themselves well enough; nor they speak not against Images for any furtherance of devotion, but plainly for a malicious mind, to quench men's devotions; for they see well enough that there is no man but if he loveth another, he delighteth in his image or any thing of his. And these Hereticks that be so sore against the images of God, and his holy Saints, would be yet right angry with him that would dishonestly handle an image made in remembrance of one of themselves; where the

wretches forbear not vilainously to handle and cast dirt in dispute upon the holy crucifix, an image made in remembrance of our Saviour himself, and not only of his most blessed person, but also of his most bitter passion!" p. 117.

5. "The Supplicacion of Soules, made Anno 1529, by Syr Thomas More, knight, counsaylour to our Soverayne Lorde the Kynge, and Chauncelour of hys duchye of Lancaster." Agaynst "*The Supplicacion of Beggars.*"*

This tract, written in opposition to a celebrated work, (of which some account is given in the note below) occupies 51 pages of Tottel's edition, and contains

* A curious anecdote, connected with this work, is thus related by Fox, in his Book of Martyrs, vol. ii. p. 280, edit. 1641.

"Master Moddis being with the king (Henry VIII.) in talk of religion, and of the new bookes that were come from beyond the seas, said, if it might please his Grace to pardon him, and such as he would bring to his Grace, he shoulde see such a booke as was marvell to heare of. The king demanded what they were: he said, two of your merchants, George Elyot, and George Robinson. The king appointed a time to speak with them. When they came before his presence in a privy closet, he demanded what they had to say, or to shew him. One of them said that there was a book come to their hands, which they had there to shew his Grace. When he saw it, he demanded if any of them could read it. "Yea, said George Elyot, if it please

some very severe but coarse animadversions. There are few of More's treatises which exceed it in vio-

your Grace to heare it." I thought so (said the king) for if need were, thou canst say it without book."

" The whole booke being read out, the king made a long pause, and then sayd, " If a man should pull down an old stone wall, and begin at the lower part, the upper part thereof might chance to fall on his head." And then he tooke the booke and put it into his desk, and commanded them, upon their allegiance, that they should not tell to any man that hee had seen the booke, &c. The copy of the foresaid book, intituled of *the Beggars,* heere ensueth

" A certaine Libell or booke, entituled *The Supplicacion of Beggers*, throwne and scattered at the procession in Westminster, on Candlemas day, before King Henry the eighth, for him to read and peruse, made and compiled by Máster *Fish*."

The whole of this vulgar, but uncommonly energetic performance will be found in Fox's Martyrs, from which I extract the following singular passages—premising, that the first two sections or paragraphs, describe in very glowing terms, the mischiefs resulting to the common people from the taxes and tithes then levied by the Catholic clergy.

" Here, if it please your grace to mark, you shall see a thing far out of joynt. There are within your realme of England 52,000 Parish Churches. And this standing, that there be but ten housholds in ever parish, yet are there five hundred thousand and twenty thousand housholds.

lence of invective. The following is the opening: to which the editor Rastell has affixed this marginal

And of every of these housholds, hath every of the five orders of Friers, a penny a quarter, for every order: that is, for all the five orders, five pence a quarter for every house: that is, for all the five orders twenty pence a yeere of every house. *Summa;* five hundred and twenty thousand quarters of angels, that is, 260,000 halfe angels. *Summa.* 130,000 angels: *Summa totalis* 430,333 pounds, six shillings, eight pence sterling. Whereof, not 400 yeeres passed, they had not one penny!"

"Oh grievous and painfull exaction thus yeerely to be paied—from the which, the people of your noble predecessors, the kings of the ancient Britaines, ever stood free!"

At sect. 21. More's reply to this work is noticed in very sarcastic terms; his name and works are constantly alluded to throughout the performance. The wit of "Master *Fish*" is sometimes keen enough; and although he seems to be fond of narrating licentious deeds with a disgusting minuteness, yet, it must be confessed that, there are very bold and striking passages in this tract—which cannot fail to interest an English reader of the present times, and which probably made some impression upon the irascible Monarch to whom it was addressed.

The manner in which Fox concludes his notice of this work, is too curious to be withheld from the reader. After bestowing on More's character and publication every species of abuse, clothed in the coarsest language, he adds—"After that the Clergy of Englande, and especially the

annotation.—" The silly souls in purgatory call unto us for help."

To all good Christian People.

In most piteous wise continually calleth and crieth upon your devout charity and most tender pity, for help, comfort and relief, your late acquaintance, kindred, spouses, companions, play fellows, and friends, and now your humble unacquainted and half forgotton suppliants; poor prisoners of God, that sell souls in purgatory, here abiding and enduring the grievous pains and hot cleansing fire, that fretteth and burneth out the rusty and filthy spots of our sin, till the mercy of Almighty God, the rather by your good and charitable means, vouchsafe to deliver us hence."

Cardinall (Wolsey), understood these bookes of the *Beggers Supplicacion* aforesayd, to bee strawne abroad in the streets of London, and also before the king, the sayd Cardinall caused not onely his servants diligently to attend to gather them up, that they should not come into the king's hands, but also when he understood that the king had received one or two of them, he came unto the king's majesty, saying, " If it shall please your Grace, here are divers seditious persons which have scattered abroad books containing manifest errours and heresies," desiring his Grace to beware of them. Whereupon the King, putting his hand in his bosome, tooke out one of the bookes and delivered it unto the Cardinall." Ibid. p. 284,

Fox tells us that More published this work, "under the name and title of *The poore silly Soules pewling out of Purgatory.*" Martyrs, vol. ii. 283.

6 "The CONFUTACION OF TYNDALE'S Answere, made Anno 1532, by Syr Thomas More, knighte, Lorde Chancellour of Englande."

"The Second Boke which confuteth the Defence of Tyndall, for hys Translacion of the Newe Testamente."*

* Fox has given us the following anecdote relating to the *first impression* of Tindall's translation of the New Testament: a book, which is continually noticed by More in the above work, and against which he pronounced many severe anathemas.

"The new Testament began first to be translated by William Tindall, and so came forth in print, about the yeare of our Lord, 1529.; wherewith Cuthbert Tunstall, Bishop of London, with Sir Thomas More, being sore aggrieved, devised how to destroy that false erroneous translation, as he called it. It hapned that one Augustine Packington, a mercer, was then at Antwerpe, where the Bishop was. This man favoured Tindall, but shewed the contrary unto the bishop. The Bishop, being desirous to bring his purpose to pass, communed how that he would gladly buy the new Testaments. Packington hearing him say so, said "My Lord, I can do more in this matter than most merchants that bee here, if it be your pleasure—for I know the Dutchmen and strangers that have bought them of Tindall, and have them here to sell; so that if it be

" The Thirde Boke. Hereafter foloweth the thirde booke, in which be treated two chapiters of Tindales booke, that is to wit, whither the churche were before the ghospell, or the ghospell before

your Lordship's pleasure, I must disburse money to pay for them, or else I cannot have them; and so I will assure you to have every Booke of them that is printed and unsold." The Bishop, thinking he had God by the toe, said, " Doe your diligence, gentle Master Packington; get them for me, and I will pay whatsoever they cost; for I intend to burne and destroy them all at Paul's Crosse."

" This Augustine Packington went unto William Tindall, and declared the whole matter; and so, upon compact made between them, the Bishop of London had the bookes; Packington had the thankes; and Tindall had the money. After this, Tindall corrected the same new Testaments againe, and caused them to be newly imprinted, so that they came thick and threefold over into England. When the bishop perceived that, hee sent to Packington, and said to him, " How cometh this that there are so many new Testaments abroad? You promised me that you would buy them all." Then answered Packington: " Surely, I bought all that were to be had: but I perceive they have printed more since. I see it will never be better so long as they have *Letters and Stamps!* Wherefore you were best to buy the stamps too, and so you shall be sure." At which answer the Bishop smiled—and so the matter ended." See vol. ii. p. 286, 7, edit. 1641. Some account of Tunstall will be found at p. 20. post.

the church; and whither the Apostles left ought unwritten that is of necessite to be beleved."

"The Fourth booke: Whether the church can erre."

"The Fift Boke: of the Confutacion of Tyndale's answere."

"The Sixt Boke: The defence of the first argument agaynst Tyndall."

"The vii. boke. Here begynneth the sevent booke in defence of the second reason; proovynge the knowen catholyke churche to be the verye churche of Chryste. Whiche seconde reason is, that we know not which is that Scripture, but by the knowen catholike church."

"The eyght Booke; in which is confuted doctour Barnes church."

"The ix booke; which is a recapitulacion and summary profe that the comon knowen catholyke church is the verye true churche of Christ."

I have brought under one point of view the titles of all those treatises which More wrote against Tindall, and which fill upwards of 500 pages of Tottel's closely printed edition of our author's works. That More could have found *leisure* for such lucubrations, whatever his inclinations might have been, is absolutely astonishing! From the following specimen, the reader will not be disposed to give Sir Thomas a very extraordinary share of praise; or to become further acquainted with the subject matter of the controversy.

"What availeth it to lay manifest holy scripture to Tindall—that forceth so little, so manifestly to mock it? *Tindall* cryeth out that every man misconstrueth the scripture, and then himself, you see what construction he maketh! Saint Paul sayeth plainly that Timothy received grace by the putting of his hands upon him. And *Tindall* letteth not to tell him as plainly, nay; and that he did but stroke Timothy's head, and call him good son, by likelihood, because he was but young. But howsoever *Tindal* list to trifle, these places plainly reprove and convict his heresy, and prove priesthood an holy sacrament. Now falleth he to railing upon the holy ceremonies of priesthood, as *shaving* and *anointing!* And first he saith, that if only shaven and anointed may preach or consecrate the sacrament, then Christ did them not; nor none of his Apostles; nor any man in long time after; for they used no such ceremonies.

"This is a worthy jest, I promise you. If me listed here to trifle as Tindall doth, I could ask him how he proveth that Saint Peter was never shaven? sith I suppose he never saw him; or, if he would put me to prove that he *was* shaven, and therein when I could find no plain scripture for it, Tindall would not believe me, but if I brought forth his barber: I might tell Tindall again that I were not bounden, since the Scripture sheweth it not, to believe him that St. Peter was ever *christened*, till Tindall bring forth his godfather!!!" p. 439.

Our author very properly adds—"But these phantasies of his and mine both go far from the matter."

In the British Museum there is a copy of the second book of the Confutation of Tindal, which is rather of rare occurrence.

7. "THE APOLOGY of Syr Thomas More, knight, made by him Anno 1533, after that he had given over the office of Lord chauncellour of Englande."

This work commences at p. 845, and conclues at p. 928, of Tottel's edition. It contains 50 chapters; and is written, occasionally, in a manly and energetic, as well as in a pious and moving strain.

8. "The DEBELLACYON OF SALEM AND BIZANCE, by Syr Thomas More. Anno Domini, 1533. After he had gyven over the office of lorde Chauncellour of Englande."

The "Declaration of the Title," may give the reader some idea of the pleasure which our ancestors took in quaint and metaphorical productions—whether in Romance or in Religion.

"*The Declaration of the Title.*

"The Debellacion of Salem and Bizance, sometime two great towns; which, being under the great Turk, were between Easter and Michaelmas last passed, this present year of our lord, MDXXXIII, with a marvellous metamorphoses, enchanted and turned into two Englishmen; by the wonderful inventive wit and witchcraft of Sir John Some say the *Pacifier*, and so by him conveyed hither in a dialogue, to defend his division, against the apology of *Sir Thomas More*. But now being thus, between the said Michaelmas

and Halowe'entide next ensuing, in this debellation vanquished, they be fled hence and vanquished, and are become two towns again, with those old names changed; Salem into Jerusalem; and Bizance into Constantinople; the tone in Greece, the tother in Syria; where they may see them that will, and win them that can. And if the *Pacifier* convey them hither again, and ten such other town with them, embattled in such dialogues, Sir Thomas More hath undertaken to put himself in the adventure alone against them all. But if he let them tarry still there he will not utterly forswear it; but he is not much minded as yet (age now so coming on, and waxing all unweildy) to go thither and give the assault to such well walled towns, without some such lusty company as shall be somewhat likely to leap up a little more lightly." p. 929.

9. "THE ANSWER to the first part of the poysoned booke which a nameles heretike * hath named "*The Supper of the Lord.*" By Syr Thomas More, Knight, Anno 1533. after he had geven over the offyce of Lorde Chancellour of Englande."

This work, divided into four books, comprehends 113 pages of Tottel's edition. After p. 1138,

* JOHN FRITH was this "nameles heretike." I have reserved rather a copious account of him and his writings for my intended edition of "Ames's Typographical Antiquities:" at present, it may be sufficient to remark that the reader will find him mentioned in Hall's Chronicle, edit. 1550. fol. 225.; Bale *Illustr. Brit.* edit. 1559. p. 657,

where it ends, there should be an unnumbered leaf, pointing out some errors which had escaped

658; and in Mr. Brydges's Cens. Liter. vol. iii. p. 45, 6. Fox, in his Book of Martyrs, has given us some interesting particulars relating to him and to Sir Thomas More; the latter of whom, he says, "persecuted him both by land and sea, besetting all the ways and havens, yea and promising great rewards if any man could bring him any newes or tydings of him." It seems that FRITH was at first unwilling to become a controversialist: a friend induced him to commit his "*Disputation upon the Sacrament*," to writing—when one William Holt, a taylor, (as he is described by Fox), obtained surreptitiously a copy of it, and brought it to MORE—"who whetted his wits and called his spirits together as much as hee might, meaning to refute his opinion by a contrary booke,"—"but when this booke [viz. More's answer] was once set forth, and shewed unto the world, then he [More] endevoured himself, all that he might, to keepe it from printing, peradventure lest that any copy thereof should come into Frith's hands."

More's answer to Frith was replied to by the latter "out of prison—omitting nothing that any man could desire to the perfect and absolute handling of the matter." Thus far Fox; who does not mention another antagonist of Frith of the name of Gwynneth, but whose work is noticed by Herbert, in his edition of Ames, vol. iii. p. 1436.

Frith's *Reply* to More was first printed, I believe, at Munster, towards the latter end of the year 1533. The title begins thus, "A boke, made by John Fryth, prysoner in the Tower of London, answerynge unto

in the printing of "The debellacion of Salem and Byzance."

10. "A DYALOGUE OF COMFORTE agaynste Tribulacyon, made in the yeare of our lorde, 1534, by Syr Thomas More, knyghte, while he was prysoner in the Tower of London, which he entitled thus as followeth. "A Dyalogue of coumfort agaynst tribulacion, made by an Hungarien in laten, and translated oute of laten into frenche, and oute of frenche into Englishe."

M. Mores letter, which he wrote agaynst the lytle treatyse that John Fryth made concernynge the Sacramente of the body and bloode of Christ, &c." It was again printed in 1546 and 1547—and twice in 1548; the two latter editions by Seres and Jugge. The author suffered at the stake, for his writings, on the 4th. day of July, 1533.—"He was carried into Smithfield to be burned, and when he was tied unto the stake, there it sufficiently appeared with what constancy and courage he suffered death." The sentence of condemnation passed upon him, in his presence, concludes curiously enough. "Also wee pronounce and declare thee to be an heretique, to be cast out from the church, and left unto the judgement to the secular power, and now presently so doe leave thee unto the secular power, and their judgment: most earnestly requiring them, in the bowels of our Lord Jesus Christ, that this execution and punishment, worthily to be done upon thee, *may be so moderate that the rigour thereof be not too extreme, nor yet the gentlenesse too much mitigated*, &c."—Fox, vol. ii. 303—9. edit. 1641.

This is justly considered to be the most popular religious work of More. It is written in a calm, easy, and impressive style, and will long outlive the original *polemical* discussions of the translator. When the first Latin, or the first English edition appeared, I am uncertain: nor do I at present recollect whether there was any reprint of it towards the middle of the seventeenth century. It was neatly printed in the black letter, in a small octavo volume, at Antwerp, A. D. 1573.—"Newly set forthe, with many places restored and corrected by conference of sundrie copies." The dedication by the printer, John Fouler, to the "Ladie Jane, Duchesse of Feria," and the preface "To the Reader," give some (superficial) account of the nature of the work. What renders this book of some value to the curious is, the *Portrait of More* on the leaf preceding the title of contents, which seems to have escaped Granger, and which is probably among the earliest impressions of him extant. Opposite, are six Latin and twelve rude English verses by the printer, who styles himself, both here and in the title page, "A native of Bristol." I have a beautiful copy of this rare book.

The "Dialogue of Comfort," written in three books, commences at p. 1139, and ends at p. 1264, of Tottel's edition. Two extracts from it are given at pages 279—347.

11. "A TREATICE to receave the blessed BODY OF OUR LORDE, sacramentally and virtually bothe,

made in the yeare of our Lorde, 1534, by Sir Thomas More, knygthe, whyle he was prysoner in the towre of London, which he entitled thus as foloweth. To receave the blessed body of our lorde, sacramentally and virtually both."

The following specimen, being the conclusion of this very short treatise, shews with what earnestness and piety the author could write—and seems to justify the report of him, in his younger days, when he gave lectures upon St. Austin *De Civit. Dei*, that, "The Seniors and grave Divines were not ashamed to learn divinity from so young a layman."*

Conclusion.

"Let us (good christian readers) receive him in such wise as did the good publican Zacheus, which, when he longed to see Christ, and because he was but of low stature, did climb up into a tree: our Lord seeing his devotion, called unto him, and said "Zachee, come off and come down, for this day must I dwell with thee." And he made haste and came down, and very gladly received him into his house. But not only received him with a joy of a light and soon sliding affection, but that it might well appear that he received him with a sure earnest virtuous mind, he proved it by his virtuous works, For he forthwith was contented to make recompence to all men that he had wronged, and that in a large manner, for every penny a groat: and yet offered to give out also forthwith, the one half of all his substance

* Knight's Life of Colet, p. 30.

unto the poor men, and that forthwith also, by and by, without any longer delay. And therefore he said not—thou shalt *hear* that I shall give it; but he said, Lo, look good Lord, the one half my goods *I do give* unto poor men!"

"With such alacrity, with such quickness of spirit, with such gladness, and such spiritual rejoicing, as this man received our Lord into his house, our Lord give us the grace to receive his blessed body and blood, his holy soul, and his Almighty godhead both, in our bodies and into our souls!—that the fruit of our good works may bear witness unto our conscience, that we receive him worthily, and in such a full faith, and such a stable purpose of good living, as we be bounden to do: and then shall God give a gracious sentence and say upon our soul, as he said upon Zacheus: *Hodie salus facta est huic domui*, "This day is health and salvation come unto this house." Which that holy blessed person of Christ, which we verily in the blessed Sacrament receive, through the merit of his bitter passion (whereof he hath ordained his own blessed body in that blessed sacrament to be the memorial) vouchsafe, good christian readers, to grant unto us all!" p. 1269.

12. "A Treatice upon the PASSION OF CHRYSTE, (unfinished), made in the yere of our Lorde, 1534, by Syr Thomas More, knyghte, while he was prisoner in the Tower of London," &c.

This is an elaborate treatise,* extending from p. 1270 to p. 1404 of Tottel's edition; and shews in

* A fine passage from it is given at p. 350. vol. ii.

a very striking manner, how superior the author's mind was to the miseries of captivity with which he was surrounded.

13. HERE folowe certein devout and vertuouse instrucions, MEDITACIONS AND PRAYERS made and collected by Syr Thomas More, knight, while he was prisoner in the towre of London." In Latin and English.

From these two last publications, I present the reader with the following specimens of More's talents for the composition of Prayer.

PRAYERS.

" O GLORIOUS blessed Trinity, whose justice hath damned * unto perpetual pain many proud rebellious angels, whom thy goodness had created to be partners of thine eternal glory—for thy tender mercy, plant in my heart such meekness, that I so may by thy grace follow the motion of my good angel, and so resist the proud suggestions of those spiteful spirits that fell, as I may, through the merits of thy bitter passion, be partner of thy bliss, with those holy spirits that stood, and now confirmed by thy grace, in glory shall stand for ever." p. 1273.

" ALMIGHTY God, that of thine infinite goodness didst create our first parents in the state of innocency, with present wealth and hope of heaven to come, till through the devil's train their folly fell by sin to wretchedness, for thy

* *Condemned.*

tender pity of that passion that was paid for their and our redemption, assist me so with thy gracious help, that unto the subtle suggestions of the serpent I never so incline the ears of mine heart, but that my reason may resist them and master my sensuality and refrain me from them." p. 1279.

" O HOLY blessed Saviour, Jesus Christ, which willingly didst determine to die for man's sake, mollify mine hard heart, and supple it so by grace, that through tender compassion of thy bitter passion, I may be partner of thine holy redemption." p. 1290.

" GOOD Lord give me the grace so to spend my life, that when the day of my death shall come, though I feel pain in my body, I may feel comfort in my soul: and with faithful hope of thy mercy, in due love toward thee, and charity toward the world, I may through thy grace, part hence into thy glory." p. 1299.

" O MY sweet Saviour Christ, which thine undeserved love toward mankind so kindly would suffer the painful death of the cross, suffer me not to be cold or lukewarm in love again toward thee." p. 1306,

Pater-noster, Ave Maria, Credo.

" O HOLY Trinity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, three equal and co-eternal persons, and one Almighty God, have mercy on me, vile, abject, abominable,

sinful wretch: meekly knowledging before thine high Majesty my long continued sinful life, even from my very childhood hitherto. Now good gracious Lord, as thou givest me thy grace to knowledge them, so give me thy grace, not in only word, but in heart also, with very sorrowful contrition to repent them, and utterly to forsake them. And forgive me those sins also, in which by mine own default, through evil affections and evil custom, my reason is with sensuality so blinded, that I cannot discern them for sin. And illumine good Lord my heart, and give me thy grace to know them, and to knowledge them, and to knowledge them, and forgive me my sin negligently forgotten, and bring them to my mind with grace to be purely confessed of them." p. 1417.

For Friends.

"ALMIGHTY God, have mercy on N. &c. with special meditation and consideration of every friend, as godly affection and occasion requireth."

For Enemies.

"ALMIGHTY God, have mercy on N. &c. and on all that bear me evil, and would me harm; and their faults and mine together, by such easy, tender, and merciful means as thine infinite wisdom best can devise, vouchsafe to amend and redress—and make us saved souls in heaven together, where we may ever live and love together with thee and thy blessed Saints. O glorious Trinity, for the bitter passion of our sweet Saviour Christ! Amen."

14. "HERE folowe FOUR LETTERS which Sir Thomas More wrote after he had gyven over the office of Lord Chancellour of England, and before he was imprisoned."

The first, second, and fourth letters are written to the Chancellor Cromwell; the third to King Henry VIII. of which I have carefully read the original, in More's hand writing, among the Cotton MSS. in the British Museum.

15. "Here folow CERTAIN LETTERS and other thynges, which Syr Thomas More wrote while he was prisoner in the towre of London."

These are the interesting family letters which have found their way into almost every life of Sir Thomas. They conclude the ponderous volume of Tottel, which comprises not fewer than 1458 pages. The Colophon is as follows:

"IMPRINTED at London, in Flete Strete, at the Sygne of the Hand and Starre, at the coste and charge of John Cawod, John Walley, and Richarde Tottle. Fynished in Apryll, the yere of our lorde God, 1557.

Cum Privilegio ad imprimendum solum.

Thus have I presented the reader with an analysis of a book, not less remarkable for its rarity than for its intrinsic value. If any apology be necessary for

the length of it, I must shelter myself under the authority of Dr. Johnson—who says, "Of the WORKS of SIR THOMAS MORE, it was necessary to give a large[r] specimen, both because our language was then in a great degree formed, and because it appears from Ben Jonson, that his works were considered as *models of pure and elegant style,* There is another reason why the extracts from this author are more copious; his works are *carefully and correctly printed, and may therefore be better trusted than any other edition of the English books of that or of the preceding age.*"*—Hist Eng. Language.

It remains only to add that the *Latin Works* of Sir Thomas More, consisting of Epigrams, the Utopia, a few letters, annotations on Lucian, &c. were published at Basil, in 8vo. 1563: at Louvain, in fol. 1566, and at Frankfort on the Maine, and Leipsic, in 1689, fol. This latter is a rare edition, and is valuable inasmuch as it contains the Life of Sir Thomas More, by Stapleton.—See Cayley's Life of Sir T. M. vol. i. 275; where the contents of the volume are specified.

* In the Duke de la Valliere's Catalogue, No. 4402, there is said to be an edition of *More's Works*, printed by Rastell, in 2 folio volumes, 1530. This error has been transcribed in the Dict. Bibliogr. vol. ii. p. 272.

IV. ENGRAVED PORTRAITS OF SIR T. MORE.

BEFORE I present the reader with a "*Catalogue raisonné*" of the various Portraits * which have been engraved of Sir Thomas More, it may be proper to lay before him a description of his figure and countenance, as they have been represented to us by two unquestionable authorities—ERASMUS, and More's GREAT-GRANDSON.

"If (says Mr. Macdiarmid†) some of the particulars of Erasmus's description are so minute as to excite a smile, they, however, most forcibly shew the high value which the writer entertained for More, and the interest with which he observed the most trifling circumstances connected with him."

Erasmus's Description of More's Person.

"To begin with what is least known to you of More, his person is rather below than above the middle size, yet not so much as to be at all remarked; while so perfect is the symmetry of all his limbs that no part seems capable of improvement. His skin is fair, his complexion pale, yet in

* In the original plan of this "Introduction Biographical and Literary," the account of the "*Portraits of More*" was to have been omitted; but a second reflection has convinced me that it may be considered not the least interesting part of this preliminary discussion.

† Lives of British Statesmen, p. 25. note.

no respect sickly, but slightly tinged throughout with a delicate transparent red; his hair chesnut; his beard thin; his eyes light grey, interspersed with some specks, a colour which usually denotes a most happy disposition, and is even accounted beautiful among the British; while among our people (the Germans) black eyes are held in more esteem. The former imagine such eyes to indicate a character particularly free from all manner of vice. His countenance, completely corresponding with his disposition, is expressive of an agreeable and friendly cheerfulness, with somewhat of an habitual inclination to smile; and to own the truth, appears more adapted to pleasantry, than to gravity, or dignity, although perfectly remote from vulgarity or silliness. Owing to one of those bad habits of which when once acquired it is so difficult to divest ourselves, his right shoulder appears in walking somewhat higher than the left. In the rest of his body there is nothing which offends the eye, only that his hands are coarse, at least when compared with the general delicacy of his frame."—LETTER TO HUTTON.—Erasm. Epist. 447.

More's Great-Grandson's description of Him.

" Sir Thomas was of a mean stature, well proportioned, his complexion tending to phlegmatic, his colour white and pale, his hair neither black nor yellow, but between both; his eyes grey, his countenance amiable and cheerful, his voice neither big nor shrill, but speaking plainly and distinctly: it was not very tunable, though he delighted much in music: his body reasonable healthful; only that, towards his latter end, by using much writing, he complained much of the ach of his breast."—Life, p. 364. 4to. edit.

These descriptions, at once natural and vivid, leave little doubt of the figure and countenance of More. But, direct and forcible as they are, they seem to have been little attended to by the greater part of the "servile herd of imitators;" who have metamorphosed the sagacity and benevolence of our author's phisyognomy into expressions of stupidity or hard-heartedness. Never, perhaps, has it fallen to the lot of a human being to have his features so tortured and perverted as More's have been. At one time he is made to resemble a Turk; at another time, an Officer of the Inquisition. One artist decorates him with the robes of "Soliman the Great;" another takes care to put around him those of a mountebank or a conjurer. Shaven or unshaven—with a short or a long beard—we are still told it is Sir Thomas More! In physiognomical expression, he is as often made to represent the drivelling ideot, as the consequential Lord Mayor; and the immortal name of Holbein is subscribed to portraits, of which he not only never dreamt, but of which almost the meanest of his successors, in this country, might have been justly ashamed. Our subject, however, is *Engraving* and not Painting.

In the following Catalogue, I have taken the liberty of differing from the arrangement of Granger, and of placing the portraits according to the order of time in which I conceive them to have been executed; although, on this head, I beg leave to assure

the reader that I do not speak with authoritative decision.

It was not the good fortune of More to have his portrait engraved by either of his contemporaries, ALBERT DURER, MARC ANTONIO, or ALDEGREVER.* These artists never visited England; and when

* The merits of these three artists are admirably appreciated by Heinekin, Wattelet, Huber, and Mr. Landseer. "Né avec un heureux génie, (says the lively and scientific Huber,) DURER surpassa bientôt, pour ne parler que *de la gravure en cuivre*, tous les artistes dans ce genre par la verité et la beauté de son travail. Sous sa main savante les progrès de cet art nouveau furent rapides. Il mettoit plus de dextérité dans la coupe du cuivre, et plus d'aisance dans le maniement de l'outil. C'est encore à son esprit industrieux qu'on doit le perfectionnement *de la gravure en bois* et *en clair-obscur*, dont on a un grand nombre de pièces. Parmi les graveurs antérieurs ou contemporains d'Albert, il y en a eu plusieurs qui se sont distingués, et dont les estampes sont encore recherchées par les curieux; mais *aucun ne l'a égalé.*" Manuel des Amateurs de l'Art. tom. i. p. 95. 6. Zurich, 1797. 8vo.

The *chef-d'œuvre* of Durer is considered to be his ST. HUBERT: an extraordinary performance! of which fine impressions are very rare, and sell high. I have a beautiful impression of his "MELANCOLIA,"* and the "DEATH'S

* I shall borrow Huber's accurate description of this incomparable engraving, from his "Catalogue Raisonné du Cabinet d'Estampes de Winckler." "Figurée par une

our author went abroad to Cambray, it is probable that his portrait had not been painted. For want, therefore, of such an accurate representation of him as either of these artists would have executed, succeeding engravers seem to have copied only from each other; and, losing sight of the original of Hans Holbein,* of course propagated error instead of truth.

Head"—on the latter of which Mr. Landseer has learnedly expatiated in his "Lectures on the Art of Engraving," p. 225, &c.

Heinekin describes *only one portrait* engraved by Marc Antonio, which is of the poet Aretin—and which he calls "la plus belle pièce que M. Antoine ait faite." See his Diction. des Graveurs, tom. i. 239. Leips. 1778. 8vo.

* It is not improbable, in the present age of indefatigable research into every thing connected with ancient literature and the fine arts, that some *engraving* of More may yet be found with the name of Hans Holbein inscribed as the engraver. I incline to think that, like his great predecessor Albert Durer, this artist engraved, as well as painted, many things. Probably his masters were Altdorfer and his father John Holbein. Papillon is copious and enthusiastic on the

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femme aîlée et largement drapée, tenant de la main droite un compas, et soutenant sa tête de la main gauche. Devant elle se voit un petit Gènie aîlé, assis, et méditant sur un livre. Les accessoires dans ce morceaux sont infinis et rendus avec un propreté admirable. C'est cette pièce que Vasari nomme *l'estampe incomparable!* En bas, vers la droite, on apperçoit le chifre et la date de 1514. In fol." Tom. i. pt. i. No. 1440. Leipzig, 8vo. 1802.

No. 1. THOMAS MORUS ANGLUS. Anno Ætatis 50. Within an oval border. *Stroke.**

This portrait has been noticed at page cv. ante, as being probably among the most antient impressions extant. It is executed on a leaf in More's "*Dialogue of Comfort*," printed at Antwerp in 1573; and in the copy of this work which I possess, it is inserted immediately preceding the "Table of the Chapters." No Engraver's name. *Unknown to Granger and Bromley.*

No. 2. THOMAS MORUS. Beneath the portrait, two Latin verses—beginning "Corporis effigiem dedit." *Stroke.*

This is the portrait of More which is inserted in Stapleton's Life of him, [vide p. xl. ante]. It is delicately executed, although the attitude and drapery are stiff. The left hand holds a scroll: the hands are the best parts of the picture. The countenance has no sort of resemblance to Holbein's portraits.

No. 3. THOMAS MORUS, quondam supremus totius Angliæ cancellarius Digniss. *Anton. Wierx* fecit et excud.—*Stroke.*

engravings of H. Holbein.—See his Traité Historique, &c. de la Gravure en Bois, tom. i. 166, &c. Huber is more rational and satisfactory. Manuel des Amateurs de l'Art, tom. i. 152, &c.

* The words "*Stroke*, *Stipling*, *Etching*, and *Mezzotint*," denote the different styles of engraving in which the portraits are executed.

A small print, about four inches in length, and three square. It has the head and shoulders only, and is very delicately executed. I consider it as one of the principal portraits of More, as it was copied for the Heroologia, and hence found its way, on a reduced or enlarged scale, into a variety of publications. Of its resemblance to the Original, I entertain strong doubts—or whether, indeed, it was ever engraved from a painting by Hans Holbein. A beautiful impression of it is in the Cracherode Collection.

Some of the engravings of the Wierxes [John, Jerom, and Antony,] have an exquisite enamel effect; and their small figures, in which they delighted, are frequently drawn with surprising anatomical accuracy

No. 4. Thomas Morus, Anglus. Four Latin verses beneath, beginning "*An memorem doctum magis.*"—No Engraver's name, but supposed to be engraved by *P. Galle.—Stroke.*

More is here represented with a scroll in his right hand—ermined robes, without the chain—a cap with an upright front, like the covering which is upon the head engraved by Vorsterman. The countenance is long, bony, and harsh, and quite unlike what I conceive to be a legitimate portrait of More. *Unknown to Granger and Bromley.*

No. 5. Thomas Morus Cancellarius Angliæ: Within a semicircle, ornamented with a bird at

each corner of the plate. An open book and tablet are beneath, with a candlestick and pair of snuffers between. On the tablet is inscribed, "*Nascitur Angliæ, Obtruncatur, 7 Jullij, Anno* 1535." At the bottom, two Latin verses beginning "*Singultantem animam Mori.*"—*Stroke.*

From Boissard's "Bibliotheca Chalcographia Viror. Illustr." A book of considerable scarcity and value, and of which De Bure [No. 6107.] notices only the first edition of 1597. It was republished in 1628, and is rarely found with all the parts complete.

As this engraving seems, in the countenance, drapery, and attitude, to be an exact copy of Galle's, I have placed it as No. 5. It is undoubtedly an ancient one. The letter B. is in the back ground, and Vu. at the end of the Latin verses. *Slightly noticed by Granger.*

No. 6. "*The true Portraicture of* SIR THOMAS MORE, *sometymes Lord Chanceloure of England, famous for letters,* He died Anno, 1535. *R, Elstracke,* sculp.—*Stroke.*

This portrait, which seems to have been unknown to Strutt, is rather rare. It is executed within an oval, —around which is the following inscription: "Vera effigies Thomæ Mori quondam totius Angliæ Cancellarii Dignissimi, Etc." At top, the crest is on the left, the arms on the right, of the oval—with the inscription "*Disce Mori mundi, Vivere disce Deo,*"

between. The left hand of More holds the cord and tassels attached to the Chancellor's Seal—with a ring on the fore-finger, which is pointing in a stiff direction. The right hand holds a parchment roll. The costume of the head dress and robes, and the expression of the countenance, differ a little from the other portraits—and has served in some degree as a model to the one prefixed to the present edition of the Utopia. Granger has slightly noticed Elstracke's engraving of More's portrait.

There was a very indifferent copy of this print "to be sold by Compton Holland, over against the Exchange."

No. 7. Thomas Morus Quondam Supremus Totius Angliæ Cancellarius Digniss. With two Latin verses beneath, beginning "*Hic est Ille Thomas.*" From the Heroologia. The Cypher, A. B. subjoined. *Stroke* and *Stippling*.

This head, as well as Vorsterman's, [though they are dissimilar from each other] served as a model for succeeding engravers, and was considered an accurate resemblance of Sir Thomas. The features are large, the expression is saturnine, the face long and bony, the cap high, upon a black cowl. The countenance is in the stippling, the robes and background in the stroke, manner of engraving. There is a strong characteristic effect about it.

No. 8. " *Effigies* THOMÆ MORI, *Supremi quondam Angliæ Cancellarij Quam ad vivum expressam.* Stroke.—A. D. 1621.

A small half length, executed with remarkable delicacy. The costume of the dress, and the arms and hands, seem to be an exact copy of Elstracke's —the great seal is omitted. Beneath is a dedication to Christopher de Blocquerie, Chancellor and Archdeacon in " Eccl. Leodiensi," with his arms as a Cardinal. At the bottom, it appears that it was dedicated to him by Joannis Valdor, Anno Domini, 1621. *Very rare;* Unknown to Granger, and slightly noticed by Bromley. A fine impression of it is in the Cracherode Collection.

No. 9. HEROA CERNIS? MORUS EST: Fidei ille Martyr optimæ: Keimelaion sæculi sui, &c. &c. L. V. *Lucas Vorsterman,* sculpsit. Stroke and Stipling. *H. Holbenius,* pinxit.

This is, I believe, the first engraved portrait of More to which the name of Hans Holbein is subscribed as the painter. It is justly said by Granger to be " very different from his other portraits:" so much so, indeed, as to excite a suspicion in my mind whether Holbein ever painted it. The uncertainty attending the legitimate portraits of More by Holbein, which is amply discussed by the late Lord Orford (Anecd. of Painting), renders it rather probable that this was *not* painted by him, especially as

it differs so much from the other portraits, and in some respects, from the costume of the age. More is here represented with his right hand holding the end of his beard; his upper lip is unshaven, and his mouth is nearly covered with the hair, which hangs down on each side in the form of whiskers.* His left hand holds a small book, divided by the forefinger: a dog lies on a tablet before him. The cap on More's head is smaller and shallower than the one usually executed by artists, and the countenance is sterner than we should conceive it to be from the description of Erasmus. The beard has a good deal in it of the Jewish character. The date [MIↃCXXXI.] is subjoined to the Latin inscription beneath.

Whatever may be the deficiencies of this engraving, on the score of likeness, it is most admirably executed by Vorsterman: "dans les estampes duquel," (says Basan, in his Dict. des Graveurs, tom. ii. 546.)

* This portrait is, however, described as one of Holbein's by Huber, in his "Notice des Graveurs," p. 447.

The length of *beard* alone is not conclusive evidence of its spuriousness; as we know that when More laid his head upon the block, he pulled his beard aside, alleging that *that* had not committed treason. Nevertheless a long beard was not More's ordinary habit of dress. And yet it must be remembered that, previously to his execution, he was of necessity compelled to neglect his person—something like King Edward II. in Berkeley Castle. But would Holbein have painted him in this situation?

" on trouve une manière expressive, beaucoup d'intelligence, et un art admirable de rendre les étoffes, ainsi que les différentes masses de couleurs, &c. The face and hands are in the stippling manner; the robes and background, in the stroke or line. I am in possession of a remarkably fine impression of it.

This print was copied by numerous artists, with various success, as will be presently noticed.

No. 10. SIR THOMAS MORE. Within a small oval: In the title to his Latin Epigrams, in 12mo. 1638. *Marshall*, sc. *Stroke.*

So described by Granger and Bromley. It was re-executed in 1639 for Alsop's edition of the Utopia, in an engraved title page, with the figures of Mercury, and a woman, crowning the oval, and the subscription " *Prudentia, Eloquentia.*" This portrait is a copy of No. 7.

No. 11. THOMAS MORUS—" *Hæc Mori Effigies,* &c." 4to.——From Granger.

No. 12. A rudely executed head. A pen in the right hand, with the point of it on an open book. *Stroke.* No name subjoined.

This is executed, as I conceive, after that of No. 4. by P. Galle: the robes, and general expression of the figure, being nearly the same. The ermine is so managed as to represent the " quills upon the fretful porcupine." A still more miserably executed portrait is the following one:

No. 13 *A fac simile in duod. of the same.* Stroke.

No. 14. THOMAS MORUS; a fictitious head, neatly engraved by *Gaywood,* after *Rembrandt;* 4to. *Etching.*

Granger is right in calling this a fictitious head, for it seems rather a resemblance of "the Grand Turk," than of Sir Thomas More. The head is shaven, with a small black cowl upon the top of it. The whiskers are curled. There is, however, great force of light and shade in the engraving. This portrait is not noticed by Walpole.*

No. 15. THOMAS MORUS. An oval of about five inches long. *Stroke.*

This is a clumsily executed copy of the preceding. It is not mentioned by Granger.

No. 16. *Talis erat Morus, quem sors infida peremit.*
Quod nollet Regi dicere blanda suo.

A very excellent etching, without Engraver's name, and copied from No. 9. by *Vorsterman;* the hands being reversed—the left under the beard, the right opening the book. The dog is omitted. It is about four inches long, and two and a half wide. Rare; and *Unknown to Granger and Bromley.*

* "Gaywood has not set his christian name *at length* to one of his prints: the letter R. being only prefixed. Vertue says that to some of them he put "*Quondam Discipulus Wen. Hollar.*"—Walpole's Cat. of Engr. p. 90.

No. 17. THOMAS MORUS. An indifferently executed copy of *Vorsterman's*, on a smaller scale, by *E. de Boulonois. Stroke.*

Not mentioned by Granger or Bromley.

No. 18. THOMAS MORUS, Cancellier Van Engellant. *Stroke.*

This is the head only of Vorsterman's portrait reexecuted, without the hand under the beard. The plate is about a foot long, and seven inches wide. There is some merit in the execution. Rare. *Unknown to Granger and Bromley.*

No. 19. THOMAS MORUS. Within an oval, with emblematical ornaments beneath. *Stroke.*

This also is a copy of Vorsterman's, with the right hand under the beard. The dog lies on a monument, from which hangs the portrait of Holbein on a kind of scroll. The axe, partly covered with a black garment, lies at the bottom. This folio print is badly executed. *Unknown to Granger.*

No. 20. THOMAS MORUS, *Chancelier d' Anglettere,* &c. Gravé par *E. Desrochers.* Four French verses beneath. *Stroke.*

A wretched likeness of Sir Thomas; who is made large, athletic, and morose. It is an oval print. *Unknown to Granger and Bromley.*

No. 21, THOMAS MORUS, *in wood; with an ornamented border; large 4to. a foreign print.*

From Granger.

No. 22. Vera Effigies THOMÆ MORI, Quondam totius Angliæ Cancellarii Dignissimi, &c. *Stroke.*

A small oval print; the right hand upon the Chancellor's seals, the left on the breast. The arms beneath; with the date of More's birth and death inscribed on each side. A contemptible performance!

No. 23. SIR THOMAS MORE, Lord Chancellor. *Stroke.*

A very small oval—part of the seals seen within it; three-quarter face, squinting. A very despicable production. Executed for the Abridgement of Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, 8vo. 1683. p. 1. It faces an equally bad portrait of the Chancellor Cromwell.

No. 24. Same inscription as No. 23, and a fac simile of the portrait on a larger scale. *R. White,* sculpsit. *Stroke.*

A very indifferent performance; *professed* to be from a painting of Hans Holbein!

No. 25. FAMILIA THOMÆ MORI, *a Jo. Holbenio delineata. Cochin,* sc. *Outline.*

Oblong folio. Inserted at page 191 of "*Tabellæ Selectæ ac Explicatæ a Carola Catharinâ Patinâ;*" a work published by Patin's widow, of which some account is given in the note below.* This outline, which is called by Granger "*very scarce,*"

* This work was published at Padua, in 1691. "Ex Typog. Seminarii." It has a picture of the Virgin and Child

appears to be a copy of the famous picture sent to Erasmus by More, which is now preserved in the Town Hall of Basil. It was copied by Holbein from a picture which he had himself painted, and which was latterly in the collection of the Lenthalls, in Oxfordshire.

The impassioned manner in which Erasmus describes this painting to More's daughter, Margaret, leaves little doubt of the correctness of the likenesses. "I want words," says he, "to express to you my delight on contemplating the picture of your family which Holbein has so happily executed. If I were present with the originals, I could not have a more accurate idea of them. I see you all before me, but no one more strikingly than yourself—in whose features shine those mental accomplishments, those domestic virtues, which have rendered you the orna-

in the Frontispiece, indifferently engraved by Desbois, after a painting by Guido. The greater part of the prints, forty in number, are engraved by Cochin; and among them there is an etching, admirably executed by the same artist, of Titian's celebrated picture of the Robber—now in the National Collection at Paris, and considered by many connoisseurs as the chef-d'œuvre of the painter. The last plate in the work is the handsome family of PATIN, engraved by Juster. Among the females, there is a countenance which bears a strong resemblance to some of the early portraits of Mrs. Siddons. Neither Granger nor Bromley have given us any account of this amusing and rare volume.

W POOLE AC

FROM THE OUTLINE OF CHRISTIAN DE MECHEL

THE FAMILY OF SIR THOMAS MORE

ment of your country and your age!"—Erasm. Epist. (Marg. Roperæ.)

This picture is divided into two groups. In the foreground, to the right, are More's daughters, Margaret and Cicely, kneeling—behind them, is their mother-in-law, Alice, in the same position; while a marmoset is playing under the cushion before her. The second group, a little retired, forms a line extending almost from one end of the picture to the other. In the centre of this line, sit More and his father, with their hands enclosed under their sleeves. John More, the son, and Henry Paten, are standing the last in the group. Behind More and his father, stands Ann Cresacre, in her 15th year, to whom young More is supposed to be newly espoused. Elizabeth, More's second daughter, and Margaret Gigs (pointing to an open book,) stand the foremost in this second group. In the back ground are a clock and a violin against the wainscoat, and at a retired distance, through an open door, near a window, appear two men in close conversation.

The original of this engraving seems to be a faithful representation of a domestic scene in More's family. For an account of its comparative merit with De Mechel's copy of the same picture, see No. 33. post. It is now very rare.

No. 26. Thomas Morus. M. B. *(Michael Burghers,)* sc. *Stroke.*

This print of More, which is unnoticed by Walpole, "was copied from an old print pasted before a manuscript life of More, by Rooper, which belonged to Mr. Murray of Sacomb, and which Mr. Hearne esteemed a great curiosity, and supposed it to be the first print of Sir Thomas that was done after his death. Burgher's copy is prefixed to this book which was published by Hearne." Granger, vol. i. p. 103. ed. 1804.

No. 27. THOMAS MORUS. *J'eus pour un Roi cruel trop peu de complaisance, &c.* followed by three more verses. *P. A. Gunst*, sc. From a painting of A. Vanderwerff. *Stroke.*

The legitimacy of this portrait may be questioned. Vanderwerff, who was not born till upwards of a century after More's death, must have copied it from the same original, from which those of No. 3. and No. 7. were executed. More is here represented with a stern large-featured countenance, and a figure better calculated for a giant than one "of mean stature."

The portrait is within an oval, which rests on a pedestal or basement, having a black piece of drapery falling over More's arms. It is a very common print.

No. 28. Familia THOMÆ MORI. *Copied by Vertue from the outline of Cochin.* No. 25. *Stroke.*

Small oblong quarto: executed for Dr. Knight's

Life of Erasmus, and usually inserted at p. 310 of that work.* The curious should attend to the insertion of this print, which is oftentimes missing, and is sold for rather a high price separately. It is a somewhat finished engraving, having the lights and shades admitted; but, upon the whole, it is indifferently executed. Granger tells us that "*the plate of it is lost.*"

No. 29. Sir Thomas More, Knight, *Lord Chancellor of England. G. Vertue,* sculp. from *Holbein.*

This is the most common, and among the most faithful copies of the original; and whoever is in possession of a fine impression of it, will be convinced that Vertue has even improved upon his head of Erasmus, executed for Dr. Knight's life of him. The best part of the portrait is the countenance; and of this, the eyes and mouth—which are very successfully managed The drapery and back ground

* As Dr. Knight's Life of Erasmus is daily becoming very scarce, it may be proper to inform the reader that "A List of the Cuts," is inserted at the back of p. xxxi. of the Introduction. Of these cuts, the heads of Erasmus Froben, Sir H. Guildford, Bishop Fox, King Henry VIII. and Cardinal Wolsey, are greatly the better ones. How More's head came to be omitted, as so much is said of him in the life, is unaccountable. There are some few copies of this work (which sell at an extravagant price) struck off on LARGE PAPER.

are, as usual, the worst parts of the picture: hard and brassy! VERTUE is certainly a very unequal artist; but in the *portrait* line of engraving, he has eminently benefitted his country. His fidelity is unimpeachable; and as he had access to originals, many of which are probably now lost, his works will always have a due value fixed on them by the judicious collector. Whoever calls to mind his Sir William Temple, Sir Ralph Winwood, and Dr. Fiddes, need not require further evidence of the powers of his graver to do justice to courtly elegance, unblemished integrity, and masculine sense.

I am ready, however, to admit that his *Women* are almost invariably harsh and repulsive; and that, if he had laboured for a century, he would never have produced that soft enchanting effect which Powle accomplished in his head of Mademoiselle d' Hamilton, in the Strawberry Hill edition of the Comte de Grammont: nor did he possess any thing of that tenderness and richness of execution, which have conferred lasting celebrity on the Females of STRANGE. To the dignified expression of Goltzius, and the exquisite brilliancy of Edelinck, he was equally a stranger. Vertue never "sprinkled divers pretty inventions and capriccios" (as Evelyn says of Albert Durer) throughout his works, but was content to sacrifise sportive elegance to rigid fidelity. Some of his *Men*, too, are unworthy of him; especially the portrait of HEARNE—which seems to have been

copied from the head of a ship, rather than from a human being! But these are venial imperfections. The many excellences of Vertue * shine through the darkest veil which the most fastidious critic can fix around him.

No. 30. SIR THOMAS MORE. Engraved by *Houbraken* after a painting of *Holbein*, for Dr. Birch's "Heads of Illustrious Persons," 1741. *Stroke.*

The beauty of this engraving is sufficiently known, but it has faults in the midst of its beauties. The sagacity and shrewdness of More are exchanged for an unmeaning softness; and, like almost all the men portraits of Houbraken, the *male* character is lost in a certain effeminate expression. This is perhaps, in a great degree, attributable to the smallness

* What Mr. Landseer says of MARC ANTONIO may be well applied to VERTUE. "His style possesses not the exterior of oratory, but he pronounces every sentence so distinctly; with a confidence so modest; that those who attend are convinced without being persuaded. To speak without a metaphor: there is something in his manner of employing his graver—something dry, unambitious, unattractive to the sense: which, by all sound critics, has been thought to deserve praise without desiring it, and peculiarly appropriate to the works of a painter, who not merely does not require, but will not admit "the aid of foreign ornament." Lectures on Engraving, p. 273. Lond. 8vo. 1807.

of the eyes of Houbraken's heads, and to the soft lustre by which they are distinguished: though in "Konstchilders' De Groote Schouburgh" [1753. 3 vols. 8vo.], Houbraken has executed some male portraits in a bold and truly masculine style.

Another fault of this engraving is, that it gives us the idea of a larger man than More is described to have been. The drapery and background are nearly as hard as Vertue's. It has been frequently and closely copied; with what success, will be presently shewn.

No. 31. SIR THOMAS MORE. Within a broad-framed oval. *Stroke.*

This forms the second plate in the second volume of "BRITISH BIOGRAPHY; or an accurate and impartial account of the Lives and Writings of Eminent Persons in Great Britain and Ireland, from Wickliffe, &c. London, 8vo. MDCCLXVI"—a publication, which deserves to be more generally perused. I am uncertain whether it extends beyond the *third* volume, which ends with the life of Sir Francis Drake. The head of Sir Thomas More, of which it is my business to speak, is a wretched copy of Houbraken's—indeed, almost all the plates prefixed to these Lives, are sorry imitations of those in Dr. Birch's splendid work. *Unnoticed by Granger and Bromley.*

No. 32. SIR THOMAS MORE. *Tringham,* sculp. *Stroke.*

Within a fancied frame-work. A contemptible copy of Houbraken's head, on a reduced scale. Not mentioned by *Granger or Bromley.*

No. 33. Familia Thomæ Mori Angli. Cancell.

Large oblong folio. *Outline. C. de Mechel,* sc. et excudit. Basiliæ 1787.

This scarce and well executed print is a copy of the same painting which was engraved by Cochin; for an account of which the reader will consult, p. cxxvii. ante.

It appears to be a much more faithful representation of the original than Cochin's:* many of the countenances have a different expression, and seem strongly to partake of the accuracy of the original likenesses. I suspect that Cochin suffered *his* outline to be a little directed by the then prevailing notions of fashion and taste. The present performance is exe-

* Among other proofs which might be adduced in confirmation of this remark, observe the countenance of John Moor, the son of Sir Thomas! It has a very close resemblance to the drawing of him by Holbein, which was engraved by Bartolozzi for Mr. Chamberlaine's magnificent publication. In *Cochin's* outline, the countenance of the son is distorted by being out of drawing; and that of Sir Thomas seems a little caricatured by an affected sprightliness of expression. The countenances of the women too, in Cochin's plate, want much of the natural air and correct outline which distinguish those of De Mechel.

cuted in a ruder, but in a more bold and artist-like manner; and the names of the different characters, which are inscribed on the original painting, are here transmitted to the plate—written in the hand-writing of the times. This print was published since the death of Granger, but it is *unnoticed by Bromley.*

No. 34. SIR THOMAS MORE. *Grignion,* sculp. *Stroke.*

Within a circle-border. This is a very poor effort of Grignion's graver. It is copied from Houbraken's head, but the chief similitude consists in the cap, gown, and collar.

No. 35. SIR THOMAS MORE. *T. Holloway direxit. Stroke.*

From the sumptuous quarto edition of Lavater's physiogonomy; in which Mr. Holloway has frefrequently reached the topmost point of perfection in the art of engraving. His "Julius Cæsar," copied in some degree from the bust in Dr. Clarke's magnificent edition of the commentaries, has hardly been equalled: it is beyond all praise.

The present portrait of More is well executed; but it never could have been intended for a faithful one. Our author is here represented with a fat jowl, bulbus nose, and frizzled wig—wholly dissimilar to every preceding and subsequent portrait!

No. 36. Tho: Moor, Ld. Chancelour. *Bartolozzi*, sculp. From Mr. Chamberlaine's publication of the Holbein Drawings, in his Majesty's Collection, 1793. *Stipling*.

Of all the portraits of More, this has probably the strongest resemblance to the Original. Its execution, by Bartolozzi, is unrivalled. Sir Thomas is however made, contrary to the usual description of him by his biographers, to "look frowningly;" but there is a shrewdness and sagacity about the portrait, manifested by the keen retired eye, protuberant nose, and thin lips.—This engraving, which comprehends very little more than the shoulders, is nearly as large as life; and though executed with all the delicacy of the stipling department of the art, it has a powerful effect upon the beholder.

No. 37. Tho. Moor, Ld. Chancelour. *R. Dalton*, fec. *Etching*.

A wretched copy of the preceding beautiful head by Bartolozzi. The sagacious frown of More is converted into an unmeaning smile; and the mechanical execution of the plate is feeble and unartist-like. Printsellers sell it for a shilling or two.

No. 38. Familia Thomæ Mori, Angliæ Cancellarii. Small oblong folio. *Aquatint*. Basil, A. D. 1794.

Although from the subscription, this print would appear to have been executed at Basil, it is an

English one; being a copy, on a reduced scale, of the outline of More's family engraved by Christian de Mechel. [See No. 33.] The light and shade is successfully managed; but the countenances of More and his father are not only unlike, but a good deal out of drawing. The women are the best executed; and yet the countenance of More's wife would indicate that Gerard Dow, and not Holbein, had been its designer. I never saw a copy of this print but the one in the Cracherode Collection.

No. 39. SIR THOMAS MORE. *Freeman*, sc. *Stipling.*

Prefixed to the "Lives of British Statesmen;"* and copied, on a reduced scale, from Houbraken's portrait. This is a truly beautiful engraving, and, in its style, by far the best representation of what we should conceive the Original to have been. Mr. Freeman is a justly rising artist: while his graver can boast of such a head as that of LORD

* Mention is made of this work at p. lii. ante: since writing that account of it, the author is no more! "*O fallacem hominum spem, fragilem fortunam, et inanes nostras contentiones!*" I knew not Mr. Macdiarmid personally: "tantum vidi"—but those to whom he was well known, unite their testimonies in bestowing on him the praise of an amiable and upright man, as well as of an elegant and vigorous writer. Some account of him appeared in Dr. Aikin's Athenæum, vol. iii. p. 377.

Strafford (in the same work), he has little to fear from the efforts of competitors.

No. 40. "Your humble orator and moost bounden bedeman, Thomas More." Engraved by *Philip Audinet*, for Mr. Cayley's edition of More's life. *Stroke*. 1808.

This engraving, which is professed to be copied from a painting by Hans Holbein, is an imitation of Houbraken's head. The mechanical part of it is well done, but one could have wished to have seen the locks of More not quite so formally curled.

No. 41. Sir Thomas More. Engraved by *James Hopwood*, from an original by Holbein. *Stipling*. 1808.

A sufficiently neat engraving; being a frontispieee to an edition of the Utopia, which is hereafter noticed. It is copied from Mr. Freeman's; but the features of Sir Thomas, and especially the nose, are too large for the contour of the head. The figure is too high up in the oval to give us the idea of a short man, as was the original.

V. EDITIONS OF THE UTOPIA.

*** *Those Editions, to which an Asterisk is affixed to the date, thus,* [*] *are in my own possession.*

[*Circ.* A. D. 1516.]

" LIBELLUS vere aureus nec minus salutaris quam festivus de optimo Reipublicæ statu, deque nova Insula Utopia, authore clarissimo viro THOMA MORO, inclytæ civitatis Londinensis cive et vicecomite, cura Petri Ægidii Antuerpiensis, et arte *Theodorici Martini Alustensis Typographi* almæ Louaniensium Academiæ nunc primum accuratissimè editus. Cum gratia et privilegio :" 4to. On the other side of the leaf which contains the Title, is " Vtopiæ Insulæ Figura ;"* followed by " Vtopiensium Alphabetum. —Tetrastichon vernacula Utopiensium lingua—et Horum versuum ad verbum sententia.—Hexastichon Anemolii Poete Laureati Hythlodei, &c.—Clarissimo D. Hieronimo Buslidio Petrus Ægidius, S. D. —Johannes Paludanus Cassitelensis, M. Petro Ægidio, S. D.—Ejusdem Johannis Paludani in novam Insulam Vtopiam Carmen.—Gerardus Noviomagus de Vtopia, (i. e. Carmen).—Cornelius Grapheus ad Lectorem, (Carmen.)--Hieronymus Buslidius Thomæ

* A sort of View-map, without human figures.

Moro, S. D.—Præfatio in opus de optimo Reipublicæ statu, Thomas Morus Petro Ægidio, S. P. D." These introductory pieces occupy the first twelve pages of the book, which contains only fifty four (unnumbered) leaves. The last page is filled with the device of Theodore Martin. It is printed in the roman letter, without marginal annotations.

EDITIO PRINCEPS, on the authority of Panzer; [vii. 261.] who cites Baumgart-Nachr. I, p. 541. sq. Von der hardt, l. c. ii. p. 52. the latter of whom supposes it to be printed in 1517. There is no date expressed in the title page; and the above one, being put within a parenthesis by Panzer, may be considered as doubtful. We may, however, draw something like an accurate conclusion as to the period of its publication, from the following circumstances. According to Peter Giles's letter to Buslidius, dated Nov. 1516, it is evident that the former speaks of an *intended* edition of Utopia—for he says, "I know of nothing requisite to add to this narrative but a metre of four verses, written in the Utopian tongue, which Hythloday shewed me on the departure of More: this, with the Utopian alphabet and some marginal quotations, is all I have thought proper to subjoin." Not a syllable is inserted of any *printed* edition: the work, therefore, was most probably in that state of MS. in which P. Giles describes it, at the opening of his letter, to have been as "sent to him the other day by Sir Thomas More." Now, as

Buslidius was provost at Arienum, it is barely possible for the work to have been printed at Lovain in the month of December.

Another circumstance may be considered. In Stapleton's life of More, p. 206. there is a letter from More to Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, in which the former observes that "his friend P. Giles had thought the work deserving of publication, and had *caused it to be printed* without his knowledge." The date of this letter is not mentioned; but we find that it was written to the Archbishop on his resignation of the Chancellorship; which took place, according to Godwin,* in the year 1515. [Warham was succeeded by Wolsey and More.] There is nothing in the letter which induces us to suppose it was written immediately after the resignation, though most probably it was not written later than 1516. It is, however, worth while observing that Erasmus, in his epistle to Froben, prefixed to the Basil edition of 1518, and written in September, 1517, makes no mention whatever of a printed edition of the Utopia—a copy of which he sends his friend Froben, as if it were to gain immortality from being printed in his office. "Will it not," says he, "delight the learned when it is known to have issued from the press of Froben?"

Upon the whole, although we should have natu-

* De Præsulibus Angliæ, edit. Richardson, p. 135.

rally expected the first edition of the Utopia to have been printed at Antwerp, under the immediate superintendance of Peter Giles, (as he resided in that city), yet, on the authorities adduced by Panzer, there is nothing improbable in its being first printed by Theodore Martin, at Louvain, in 1517.

A copy of this very rare book is in the British Museum, which was bequeathed to it by the late Mr. Tyrwhitt; and another is in the extraordinary collection of Mr. Heber.

A. D. 1518. [*]

" DE Optimo Republicæ Statu, deque nova insula Utopia, libellus vere aureus, nec minus salutaris quàm festivus, clarissimi disertissimique viri THOMÆ MORI, inclytæ civitatis Londinensis, civis et Vicecomitis," with the Latin Epigrams of More and Erasmus. At the end of Buslidius' Epistle to More, p. 168. occurs the following subscription, " *Basileæ apud Joannem Frobenium Mense Novembri,* AN. M.D.XVIII. At the end of the volume, p. 355, there is the same subscription, with the substitution of the word December.

EDITIO PRINCEPS SECUNDA. This is the second edition of the Utopia, and may be now considered a rare and curious volume. The title page is printed within an engraved compartment of an arch, decorated with winged boys, and wreaths of flowers. At top, in the corners, are the words " HANS. HOLB." denoting, I conceive, this great artist to be the

designer of the frontispiece. The printer's device, of the hands grasping Mercury's Caduceus, is at bottom. The same ornaments occur in the fourth page of More's Epistle to Peter Giles, which precedes the first book of the Utopia. At the back of the title page is the following epistle from Erasmus to Froben.

" ERASMUS ROTERODAMUS JOANNI FROBENIO COMPATRI SUO CHARISSIMO. S. D.

" Cum antehac omnia Mori mei mihi supra modum semper placuerint, tamen ipse meo judicio nonnihil diffidebam, ob arctissimam inter nos amicitiam. Cæterum ubi video doctos uno ore omneis meo subscribere suffragio, ac vehementius etiam divinum hominis ingenium suspicere, non quod plus ament, sed quod plus cernant, serio plaudo meæ sententiæ, nec verebor post hac quod sentio, palàm eloqui. Quid tandem non præstitisset admirabilis ista naturæ felicitas, si hoc ingenium instituisset Italia? Si totum Musarum sacris vacaret, si ad justam frugem ac velut autumnum suum maturuisset? Epigrammata lusit adolescens admodum, ac pleraque puer. Britanniam suam nunquam egressus est, nisi semel atque iterum, principis sui nomine legatione fungens apud Flandros. Præter rem uxoriam, præter curas domesticas, præter publici muneris functionem, et causarum undas, tot tantisque regni negociis distrahitur, ut mireris esse ocium vel cogitandi de libris. Proinde misimus ad te progymnasmata illius et Uto-

piam, ut si videtur, tuis excusa typis, orbi posteritatique commendentur. Quando ea est tuæ officinæ autoritas, ut liber vel hoc nomine placeat eruditis, si cognitum sit e Frobenianis ædibus prodisse. Bene vale cum optimo socero, conjuge suavissima, ac melclitissimis liberis. Erasmum filiolum mihi tecum communem, inter literas natum, fac optimis literis instituendum cures. Lovanij viii. Cal. Septem. AN. M. D. XVII."

This address is succeeded by Budæus's letter to Lupsetus: after which (p. 11.) we have the following "*Hexastichon* ANEMOLII POÆTE LAUREATI, *Hythlodæi ex Sorore Nepotis in Utopiam Insulam.*

Utopia priscis dicta, ob infrequentiam,
Nunc civitatis æmula Platonicæ,
Fortasse victrix (nam quod illa literis
Delineavit, hoc ego una præstiti
Viris et opibus, optimisque legibus)
Eutopia merito sum vocanda nomine.

On the reverse of this page is a wood cut of a bird's eye view of Utopia, with three human figures at bottom; two of which have been exactly copied in this edition for the head-piece to the "Prologue:" these I conjecture to be More and Hythloday. The Utopian Alphabet, with a "Tetrastichon Vernacula Utopiensium Lingua" faces this wood cut. Then follows Peter Giles's letter to Buslidius, which is dated Nov. 1516. At page 17 commences More's letter to Peter Giles, within a compartment similar to that of the frontispiece; and at

p. 25, with a vignette similar to the second one in this edition (from which indeed it was in part copied), commences the Romance of the Utopia, which terminates at p. 162; the remainder being occupied with the Epigrams of More and Erasmus. I suspect that all the engraved and typographical ornaments of the book were designed by Holbein. The frontispieces to More's and Erasmus's Epigrams are very elegantly executed, especially the latter. The engraver's mark is a V, in the midst of a volute or curl, like a G; which, from Christ's Dict. des Monogrammes, [edit. 1750. p. 281.] I suppose to stand for VON GOAR.

This second edition of More's Utopia, though by no means executed in the best style of Froben's press, is, notwithstanding, rather an elegant volume, and is faithfully printed. It is briefly described by Maittaire, vol. ii. 323, and by Panzer, vol. vi. 205; which latter refers to Gesner, l. c. p. 80. Thott. vii. p. 211. Bibl. P. Nor: Bibl. Schw. jun: Bibl. Dilherr. and to his own collection.

A. D. 1519.

"THOMÆ MORI de optimo Reipublicæ statu, deque nova Insula Utopia libellus. Epigrammata pleraque e græco versa. Item DESIDERII ERASMI Roterodami Epigrammata. *Viennæ Pannoniæ per Joannem Singrenium.* 4to. 1519.

This is noticed by Panzer, on the authority of Denis, l. c. p. 204. It is probably a reprint of the Basil edition.

A. D. 1548.

" DE Optimo Reipub. Statu, Deque nova Insula Utopia, libellus verè aureus, nec minus salutaris quàm festivus, clarissimi disertissimique viri THOMÆ MORI inclytæ civitatis Londinensis civis et Vicecomitis. Lovanij, Excudebat Servatius Sassenus impensis viduæ Arnoldi Birkmanni. Anno Salutis, 1548. Mense Junio. 8vo.

At the back of the title page, there is a privilege granted to the printer for the exclusive printing, selling, and distributing, of this work for the space of the four following years. It is dated at Brussels, xx Mar. M. D. xlvij, and signed FACUWEZ. This edition seems to be a reprint of Froben's, for it is arranged precisely in the same order, and contains the same matter. Peter Giles's letter to Buslidius, More's to Giles, and the two books of the Utopia, are printed in italics: the remainder in the roman letter. On the reverse of p. 181, (at the end) is a list of errata: this is followed by a print of a man crowned with laurels, grasping in his left hand a twisted snake, and laying his right upon a lobster: between the lobster and the man's body, there is this inscription, within a square frame work—" SI LAXES EREPIT;" —around the snake, " SI STRINGAS, ERUMPIT."* A part of a house is seen in the back ground.

* The same device appears in the title-page of Sassinus's edition of " Damianus Goes, de Bello Cambaico ultimo Comment. Tres. 1549. 4to.

The print is a curious one; and as it is struck off on a separate leaf, the purchaser should always see that he is in possession of it. *A copy of this edition is in the British Museum.*

A. D. 1555.

"De Optimo Reipub. Statu, Deque Nova Insula Utopia, Libellus vere aureus, nec minus salutaris quàm festivus, clarissimi disertissimique viri THOMÆ MORI, inclytæ civitatis Londinensis civis et Vicecomitis. Coloniæ, Apud hæredes Arnoldi Birckmanni, Anno M.D.LV. 8vo. With Birckman's device of a cock supporting a tree, surrounded with an ornamental frame: at bottom "ARNOLD BIRCKMAN."

This edition is an exact reprint of the preceding, both as to matter and manner. The italic letter is larger and more elegantly formed, but the paper is wretched.

A. D. 1563.[*]

"UTOPIÆ, Libri II." Printed as the first article of the "*Lucubrationes Mori.*" Basil, apud Episcopium F. 8vo. 1563.

This accurate edition comprehends the first one hundred and sixty-four pages of the Basil edition of our author's Lucubrations; and is, I believe, the only octavo one of his minor Latin works complete. It contains the usual pieces printed with the Utopia. The *Epigrams, Letters,* &c. which comprise two

thirds of the volume, are neatly printed in the italic type. It is by no means a common book. Wood erroneously calls it a quarto. Athen. Oxon. i. 39.

The Utopia was also reprinted in the *Latin Works* of More published at Louvain in 1566, and at Frankfort on the Maine and Leipsic in 1689.

A. D. 1591.

" LIBELLUS vere Aureus nec minus salutaris quam festivus de optimo Reip. Statu, deq; nova Insula Utopia, authore clariss. Viro Thoma Moro, inclytæ civitatis Londinensis cive et vicecomite, cura M. Petri Ægidii, Antuerpiensis, et arte Theod. Martini Alustensis, Typographi almæ Lovaniensium Academiæ, *nunc primum accuratissime editus.*—Witebergæ ex Off. Cratonianæ, anno 1591." 8vo.

The editor seems to have taken some pains to render his edition as accurate as possible. It contains the usual introductory matter, and, in point of correctness, may rank after the Basil edition of 1563.

A. D. 1601.

" *Illustris Viri Thomæ Mori Regni Britan. Cancel.* DE OPTIMO REIPUBLICÆ STATU, Deque Nova Insula Utopia, Libri Duo: Scriptum vere aureum, nec minus salutare, quàm festivum, quod ex Erasmi Roterodami, Gulielmi Budæi, aliorumq.

magnorum virorum commendationibus, quæ Epistolis præfixis continentur, liquidum dubitantibus evadet. Nunc tandem bibliotaphis subreptum, et in gratiam politicorum, consilio et cura Magnifici Eberarti von Weihe, illustriss. ac potentiss. Pr. ac. Dom. Dn. Mauritio, Hessiæ Landgravio, &c. a consiliis editum. Francofurti: Ex Officina Saurii MDCI. 12mo.

This elaborate title page sufficiently explains the contents of the edition. It has the usual introductory pieces, and is printed in a large and handsome type, upon very indifferent paper. The text, as far as I have found it necessary to consult it, does credit to the accuracy of the editor.

A. D. 1613.

" Illustris viri Thomæ Mori, Regni Britanniarum Cancellarii, De optimo Reipublicæ Statu, Deque Nova Insula UTOPIA, Libri Duo: Scriptum vere aureum, nec minus salutare, &c. Hanoviæ; Typis J. J. Hennei; sumptibus Petri Kopffij, MDCXIII. 12mo.

This wretchedly printed, but accurate, edition contains the usual epistles of More, Budæus, Buslidius, and Giles.—The type of the *text* is something like Foulis's: the *paper* gives it a wretched aspect. A copy of it is in the British Museum, which was once Frederick Lindenbrog's—" Ex *των Friderici* Lindenbrogij" being inscribed on the inside of the cover.

A. D. 1629.

"THOMÆ MORI Utopia, à mendis vindicata, et juxta Indicem libror. expurgat. Card. et Archiesp. Toletani correcta. Coloniæ Agrippinæ apud Corn. ab Egmond et Socios, anno 1629. 32mo." Within an elegantly engraved compartment, with three female figures of Plenty, Justice, and Peace, sitting beneath—as the title-page.

This diminutive pocket edition contains the usual epistles of More, Giles, Buslide, and Lupset, with an additional one from J. Palludanus of Cassel, to Peter Giles—in which the English are thus complimented. "Felicem Britanniam! quæ nunc ejusmodi floreat ingeniis, ut cum ipsa possent cum antiquitate certare. Nos stupidos ac plus quam plumbeos, si ne tam vicinis quidem exemplis ad eam laudem capessendam expergefieri possumus." Towards the conclusion of his letter, Palludanus wishes that "the Utopians would receive our religion, in return for the ideas of legislation which we have derived from them—"That might be accomplished [continues he, gravely,] if some of our most famous theologians would make a voyage thither!" After mentioning that he had almost entirely deserted the Muses, he ventures on the following verses:

"*In novam Insulam Utopiam.*"

Fortes Roma dedit, dedit et laudata disertos
Græcia, frugales inclyta Sparta dedit.

Massilia integros dedit, at Germania duros
Comes, ac lepidos Attica terra dedit.
Gallia clara pios, quondam dedit Africa cautos,
Munificos olim terra Britannia dedit.
Virtutum ex aliis aliarum exempla petuntur
Gentibus, et quod huic desit, huic superat.
Una semel totam summam totius honesti
Insula terrigenis UTOPIANA dedit.

This curious little edition contains 266 pages, and as it is one of the few castrated editions, it may be valued by the collector. *A copy is in the British Museum.*

A. D. 1663. [*]

"THOMÆ MORI Utopia, a Mendis vindicata. Oxonii Typis *W. Hall.* Impensis *Fran. Oxlad.* Anno 1663. 32mo.

This little pocket volume contains, with the usual introductory pieces, the preface of Froben, and the epistle and verses of Palludanus. The Romance concludes at page 264. The type, though small, is sufficiently distinct—which makes it a very pleasant "Post-chaise companion," as Dr. Harwood some where styles an edition of an ancient classic.

A. D. 1750. [*]

"DE Optimo Reipublicæ Statu, Deque Nova Insula Utopia, Libri II. Auctore THOMA MORO, Equite, Angliæ Cancellario. Ex prioribus editionibus collatis accurate expressi. *Glasguæ, in Ædibus*

Academicis Excudebant Robertus et Andreas Foulis, MDCCL." 8vo.

This edition is the most common Latin one extant. It is executed in the usual elegant and accurate style of Foulis's press, and contains, at the beginning and end, the letters which generally accompany the Romance. The text of the *Utopia* is printed in a large and distinct type; of the *Letters*, in a smaller one. I never saw, nor heard of, a copy of this work on large paper. It is the only Latin edition of the Utopia which French bibliographers have noticed. Dict. Bibliograph. t. II. p. 272. edit. 1790.

This account of the *Latin editions*, although far from being perfect, (for many were circulated abroad which have probably never reached this country,) may be considered sufficiently ample to direct the collector in the choice of the leading publications of the Utopia in the Latin language.

Italian.

A. D. 1548.

" LA Republica Nuovamente Ritrovata, del Governo dell' Isola Eutopia, nella qual si vede nuovi modi di governare Stati, reggier Popoli, dar Leggi a i Senatori, con molta profondita di sapienza, storia nomeno utile che necessaria. *Opera di*

Thomaso Moro Cittadino di Londra. In Vinegia, MDXLVIII." 12mo.

With the device of an elegant female, turning to the left, and looking through a mask—her robes floating in the wind: she is seated on a kind of rock, from which a slender branch vegetates, and partly encircles her—harmonizing very gracefully with the attitude. This forms the title-page. At the second leaf begins an epistle, (from the translator, I suppose,) " Al Gentilissimo M. Gieronimo Fava," which occupies three pages.—The table of the chapters, into which the ten books of Utopia are divided, begins at fol. 4, and ends at fol. 5. There are fifty-three chapters: the greater part, especially of the first book, quite unnecessary. More's letter to Giles begins at fol. 6: of which the following may probably be considered a fair specimen of the translation.

" *Hora levati via tai pensieri ne i quai faceva mestieri sudare d' avantaggio, ageuolmente potevasi scrivere, si come era stata udita. Benche le mie altre emprese m' hāno lasciato pochissimo tempo à fornire così leggiera cosa, trattando, udendo, determinando, e giudicando io assiduamente le cause del foro, visitando hor questo per benignità e mio debito, hor quello per eseguire le facēde importanti: e finalmente dispensando fuori quasi tutto il giorno, et il rimanente per le mie cose famigliari, non lascio a me cioe à le lettere tempo alcuno. Perche ritornato che sono à casa, mi bisogna ragionare con la moglie, gridari con i figliuoli, parlare*

con i ministri. Tutte le quai cose io annovero tra le imprese, necessarie in vero, non volendo esser ne la casa propria come forestieri. Perche dobbiamo esser benigni verso coloro, che ò per natura, ò à caso, ò per nostra elettione ci sono stati dati compagni nel vivere. Purche con la troppa benignità non si corrompa la disciplina e che i servi non diventino patroni. Tra questi travagli passa il giorno, il mese, e l'anno. Al qual tempo adunque scrivo? Non ho parlato del tempo, che si consuma nel mangiare, e nel dormire, che occupa quasi la meta de la vita, &c."

This epistle ends at fol. 8. (for the book is numbered by leaves). At fol. 9 the Romance begins, and terminates at fol. 60—which concludes the volume: the only epistle introduced, being that of More to Giles.

This edition is, in every respect, a bibliographical bijou: the press-work, italic type, and paper, being beautiful of their kind. No printer's name is subjoined, but the type has a resemblance to some of the best specimens of Aldus and Plantin. It is slightly mentioned by Wood, and is noticed in the new edition of Haym's Biblioteca Italiana, [Milan, 8vo. 1803] Pt. IV. p. 51, No. 3, where the translation is assigned to Doni. *A copy is in the British Museum.*

French.

A. D. 1550.

" LA Description de l'Isle d'Utopie, où est comprins Le Miroer des Rebublicques du monde, et l'exemplaire de vie heureuse : redigé par escript en stille treselegant de grand' haultesse et maiesté par illustre bon et scavant personnage THOMAS MORUS citoyē de Londre et chācelier d'Angleterre. Avec l'Epistre liminaire composée par Monsieur Bude maistre des requestes du feu Roy Francoys premier de ce nom. Avec privilege—A vendre, &c. en la Bouticque de Charles l'Anglier devant la Chapelle de Messieurs les Presidens." 1550. 8vo.

PREMIERE EDITION FRANÇOISE. On the back of the title-page is the privilege granted to the printer for the three following years exclusive sale—signed Du Tillet, and dated 1549. The epistle of Budæus comes next in order. At folio 1, (for the book is numbered by leaves,) opposite some verses of the translator, (which succeed Budæus's epistle,) we have a well executed wood-cut, in which Hythlodæus is represented as reciting his narrative to More, Giles, and Clement—all of them in the *Roman* costume. At p. 2 the first book of the Romance commences, with a wood-cut of More in profile, sitting in his study, composing the work. This cut is repeated at the commencement of the second book. The second book is divided into chapters, (something in the man-

ner of this present edition,) with wood-cuts at the head of each. These cuts, all of them in the Roman costume, are well executed; the greater part are repeated. At fol. 105 the Romance concludes. On the next leaf there is a sort of colophon, by which it appears that JEHAN LE BLOND was the translator: at the back, is his address to the reader—in which, after craving pardon for errors committed, he thus concludes—" En sorte que si nous n'usiõs que de termes vulgaires et communz à chascun, nostre langue nen enrichiroit d'un flocquet, et fauldroit tousiours faire comme les tabellions et notaires, qui en leurs actes ne chãgent ne muent de stille." Opposite, there is another address to the reader, which is followed by a table of the chapters and of general matter. A leaf of errata, with the bookseller's device neatly executed on the reverse, concludes this rare and curious volume. *A copy of it is in the British Museum*, and one occurs in the Cat. de la Valliere, No. 1346.

A. D. 1715—1730.

" IDEE d'une Republique Heureuse: ou l'Utopie de THOMAS MORUS, Chancelier d'Angleterre. Contenant le Plan d'une Republique dont les Loix, les Usages, et les Coûtumes tendent uniquement à rendre heureuses les Societez qui les suivront. Traduite en François par M. GUEUDEVILLE, et enrichie de Figures en Taille-douce. Leide, 1715, 12mo. Amsterdam, 1730, 12mo.

These elegant little editions, of which the second seems to differ* from the first only in having a fresh title-page struck off, are now becoming rather rare, and sought after. An engraved frontispiece of a female holding an oval portrait of More in the left hand, and the Roman Fasces in the right, &c. &c. faces the title page.—The translator's Epistle to Henry Duke of Saxe—his Preface, sufficiently flourishing (in which he takes no notice of the preceding ancient French edition)—More's Letter to Giles—the Life of More—the Letters of Erasmus to Froben—of Budæus to Lupset—of Buslidius to More—of Giles to Buslidius—of Palludanus to Giles, with verses, &c. all precede the Romance, which occupies 348 distinct pages; an excellent "Table des Matieres" of 16 pages concludes the volume.

These editions are rendered very amusing from the *sixteen* elegant plates (exclusive of the frontispiece) which accompany them. The *thirteenth*, descriptive of the introduction of the intended bride and bridegroom, is oftentimes missing. "Comme les figures (says the translator, at the end of his preface) sont à la mode, et qu'elles font plaisir à un certain genre de Lecteurs, l'Imprimeur, qui n'épargne rien pour ses impressions, et dont le principal but

* In the title-page of the first edition, after the word "uniquement," it is said—"à faire aux societés humaines le passage de la vie dans toute la douceur imaginable."

est de se conformer au goût du Public, a eu soin d'en embellir son Utopie. Les Tailles-douces representent les sujets les plus intéressans du Livre." Of the merits of the translation, which Mons. Gueudeville tells us is not very exact,* the reader must himself be the judge, from the numerous specimens of it inserted in the notes of the present edition. A copy of the first edition occurs in Gaignat's Catalogue, No. 907.

English.

A.D. 1551.

" A fruteful and pleasaunt worke of the beste state of a publyque weale, and of the newe yle called Utopia: written in Latine by SYR THOMAS MORE knyght, and translated into Englyshe by RAPHE ROBYNSON, Citizein and Goldsmythe of London, at the procurement, and earnest request of George Tadlowe Citezein and Haberdassher of the same Citie. Imprinted at London by Abraham Vele, dwelling in Paul's churcheyarde, at the sygne of the Lambe. Anno, 1551." 8vo. *Black Letter.*

* " Au reste, on ne doit pas s'attacher ici à une Traduction exacte, et qui ne fasse que rendre précisément le sens de l'auteur. J'avertis d'avance, que je ne me suis point arrêté à ce scrupule là: j'ai souvent étendu l'idée," &c.!! Pref. p. xv.

FIRST ENGLISH EDITION. The title-page is immediately followed by the translator's epistle "To the right honourable, and his verie singuler good maister, MAISTER WILLIAM CECYLLE, *esquiere*, one of the twoo principal secretaries to the kyng his moste excellent maiestie, Raphe Robynson wissheth continuance of health, with dayly increase of vertue, and honoure." At p. 5 of this epistle, we have the following history of the translation. "But nowe I feare greatly that in this my simple translation, through my rudenes and ignoraunce in our english tonge, all the grace and pleasure of the eloquence, wherewith the matter in latine is finely set forth, may seme to be utterly excluded, and lost: and therefore the frutefulnes of the matter it selfe muche peradventure diminished and appayred. For who knoweth not, whiche knoweth any thyng, that an eloqent styele setteth forth and highly commendeth a meane matter? Where as on the other side, rude and unlearned speche defaceth and disgraceth a very good matter. According as I harde ones a wise man say: A good tale evel tolde were better untold, and an evell tale well tolde nedeth none other sollicitour. This thing I well pondering and wayinge with me self, and also knowing and knowledging the barbarous rudenes of my translation was fully determined never to have put it forth in printe, had it not bene for certein frendes of myne, and especially one, whom

above al other I regarded, a man of sage and discret witte, and in worldly matters by long use well experienced, whoes name is George Tadlowe: an honest citizein of London, and in the same citie well accepted, and of good reputation; at whoes request and instaunce I first toke upon my weake and feble sholders the heavie and weightie bourdein of this great enterprice. This man with divers other, but this man chiefely (for he was able to do more with me, then any other) after that I had ones rudely brought the worke to an ende, ceassed not by al meanes possible continualy to assault me, until he had at the laste, what by the force of his pitthie argumentes and strong reasons, and what by hys authority, so persuaded me, that he caused me to agree and consente to the impryntynge herof. He therefore, as the chiefe persuadour, must take upon him the daunger, whyche upon this bolde and rashe enterpryse, shall ensue. I, as I suppose, am herin clerely acquytte, and discharged of all blame."

This epistle (from which the preceding is a faithful extract) is followed by More's letter to Peter Giles. Then commences the first page of the Utopia, of which, for the gratification of the *black-letter* bibliographer, the following is as close an imitation as could be given with the types of the present day.

¶ The fyrſte boke of the communycacion of Raphaell hythlodaye concernynge the beſt ſtate of a commenwealthe.

The moſte victorious and tryumphante kynge of Englande Henry the eight of that name in all royal vertues Prince moſte peerleſſe, hadde of late in contraverſie with the right hyghe and myghtie king of Caſtell weightye matters and of greate importaunce, for the debatement & final determination wherof the kinges Maieſt. ſent me Ambaſſadour into Flaunders ioined in commiſſion with Cuthebert Tunſtall a man doubteles owte of comparyſon, and whom the kinges maieſtie of late to the greate reioyſyng of all men did preferre to the office of maiſter of the Rolles: but of thys mans prayſes I

This first English edition is neatly printed with a handsome margin. It has signatures and catchwords, but the pages are not numbered. It ends on the leaf following S iij.

Thus endeth the afternones talke
of Raphaell Hythlodaye con
cerning the lawes and in-
stitutions of the Iland
of Utopia.

C Imprinted at London
by Abraham Vele, dwelling in Pauls
churcheyarde at the sygne of
the Lambe. Anno,
1551.

There is no copy of this curious and rare performance in the Bodelian Library, nor in the British Museum. Mr. Heber is in possession of one from the Bibl. Brand. No. 4241; and another is in the magnificent library of the Marquis of Bute, at Luton. It was unknown to Antony Wood, and to the editors of Bayle's General Dictionary, vol. vii. fol. 1737, (who have very inaccurately described the early translations of the Utopia). All our Lexicographers have omitted to notice it, although it is one of the best specimens extant of our language at the period when it was written.*

* Of RAPHE ROBINSON, the translator, I had once supposed that he might have been the same individual of

The supposition of Burnet, that "*Sir Thomas himself* had probably a hand in this translation," appears to me to be unfounded—whatever adventitious value it may stamp upon the edition. Rastell, the editor of More's English works, would have insinuated some such thing—and arguing from "similarity of style" (as Burnet does) is arguing from no correct datum—for, what one critic thinks similar, another may think dissimilar.

whom Mr. Douce, at the latter end of his dissertation "On the Gesta Romanorum," makes such particular mention: but from the date of his entrance at Corp. Christ. College, Oxford, (as communicated to me by my friend, the Rev. Mr. Gutch) this seems barely possible—"Radulphus Robynson *quindecim ann. ætat.* &c. Discipulus admiss. 1536—Schol. Prob. admiss. 1542." This fixes the birth of Ralph Robinson in 1521—a person born at this early period could not be the individual to write numerous dedications with facility in 1601-2. See Mr. Douce's "Illustration of Shakspeare, and of Ancient Manners," Vol. II. 423-4, &c. Antony Wood and Tanner give us a very unsatisfactory account of Robinson. I presume that the three letters among the Lansdowne MSS. in the British Museum, (viz. I. from Ralph Robinson, a certain clerk, to Sir William Cecil, for the increase of his salary, May 1551: II. a Latin copy of verses by Ralph Robinson, being his new year's gift, to Sir William Cecil: III. a Latin petition of R. R. to Sir W.C. to relieve his poverty, 1551,) are composed by the same individual who made this first translation of the Utopia.

A. D. 1556. [*]

"A frutefull pleasaunt and wittie worke, of the beste state of a publique weale, and of the newe yle, called Utopia; written in Latine by the right worthie and famous Syr Thomas More, knyght, and translated into Englishe by Raphe Robynson, sometime fellowe of Corpus Christi College in Oxford, and nowe by him at this seconde edition newlie perused and corrected, and also with divers notes in the margent augmented. *Imprinted at London by Abraham Vele, dwellinge in Paul's church yarde, at the signe of the Lambe.* 8vo. Black letter.

"The Translator to the gentle Reader.

"Thou shalt understande, gentle reader, that thoughe this worke of Utopia in English, come now the seconde tyme fourth in print, yet was it never my minde nor intente that it shoulde ever have bene imprinted at all, as who for no such purpose toke upon me at the firste the translation thereof: but did it onlye at the request of a frende, for his owne private use, upon hope that he wolde have kept it secrete to hymself alone. Whom, though I knew to be a man in dede, both very wittie and also skilful, yet was I certen that in the knowledge of the Latin tonge he was not so well sene, as to be hable to judge of the finenes or coursenes of my translation.

"Wherefore I wente the more sleightlye through with it, propoundynge to myselfe therein, rather to

please my sayde frendes judgemente, then myne owne. To the meanesse of whose learninge I thoughte it my part to submit, and attemper my stile. Lightlie therefore I overran the whole woorke, and in shorte tyme, with more hast then good spede, I brought it to an ende. But as the latin proverbe sayeth: "The hastye bitche bringeth furth blind whelpes"—For when this my worke was finished, the rudeness thereof shewed it to be done in poste haste. How be it, rude and base though it were, yet fortune so ruled the matter that to imprintinge it came, and that partly against my wyll. Howbeit, not beinge hable in this behalfe to resist the pitthie persuasions of my frendes, and perceaving therefore none other remedy, but that furth it shoulde: I comforted myselfe for the tyme, only with this notable saying of Terence:

Ita vita est hominum, quasi quum ludas tesseris.
Si illud, quod est maxume opus, iactu non cadit:
Illud, quod cecidit forte, id arte ut corrigas.

In which verses the poete likeneth or compareth the life of man to a dice plaiying or a game at the tables; meanynge therin, if that chaunce rise not whiche is most for the plaiers advauntage, that then the chaunce, which fortune hathe sent, ought so connyngly to be played, as may be to the plaiers least dammage. By the which worthie similitude, surely the wittie poete geveth us to understande that though

in any of our actes and doynges, (as it ofte chaunceth) we happen to faile and misse of our good pretensed purpose, so that the successe and our intent prove thinges farre odde; yet so we ought with wittie circumspection to handle the matter, that no evyll or incommoditie, as farre furth as may be, and as in us lieth, do thereof ensue.

"According to the whiche counsell, though I am in dede in comparison of an experte gamester and a conning player, but a verye bungler, yet have I in this by chaunce, that on my side unwares hath fallen, so (I suppose) behaved myself, that, as doubtles it might have bene of me much more conningly handled, had I forethought so much, or doubted any such sequele at the beginninge of my plaie: so I am suer it had bene much worse than it is, if I had not in the ende loked somwhat earnestlye to my game. For though this worke came not from me so fine, so perfecte, and so exact at the first, as surely for my small lerning it should have done, if I had then ment the publishing therof in print; yet I trust I have now, in this seconde edition, taken about it such paines, that very fewe great faultes and notable errours are in it to be founde. Now therefore, most gentle reader, the meanesse of this simple translation, and the faultes that be therein (as I feare muche there be some) I doubt not, but thou wilt, in just consideration of the premisses, gentlye and favourablye winke at them. So doynge thou shalt minister

unto me good cause to thinke my labour
and paynes herein not altogether
bestowed in vaine.
VALE."

This address is followed by More's epistle to Peter Giles, as in the preceding edition. The text of the Romance commences at sign. B ii; and at fol. 132. it concludes. After this we have Peter Giles's letter to Buslidius, and three pages of Utopian metres. On the last leaf is the following address from

"The Printer to the Reader.

"The Utopian alphabete, good Reader, whiche in the above written Epistle is promised, hereunto I have not now adioyned, because I have not as yet the true characters or fourmes of the Utopian letters. And no marveill: seying it is a tongue to us muche straunger then the Indian, the Persian, the Syrian, the Arabicke, the Egyptian, the Macedonian, the Sclavonian, the Ciprian, the Scythian, &c. which tongues though they be nothing so straunge among us, as the Utopian is, yet their characters we have not. But I trust, God willing, at the next impression hereof, to perfourme that, which nowe I cannot; that is to saye, to exhibite perfectly unto thee, the Utopian alphabete. In the meane time accept my good wyl. And so fare well.

Imprinted at London in Paules Churcheyarde, at the sygne of the Lambe, by Abraham Veale, M.D.LVI."

This small octavo volume is printed with a larger

type than the preceding edition, but not in so elegant a manner. The paper and press-work are both inferior. Herbert says it was reprinted in the following year, (1557) but I suspect that he was led into this error by A. Wood, who was ignorant of the present edition. The following one, by Creede, is expressly called in the title-page, the "*third.*" The punctuation of *this* edition is preferable to that of the preceding one; the phraseology rarely varies. There is a copy of it, bound up with the original Latin one, in the library of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, which probably was Robinson's own copy. I am in possession of one which was obtained from Mr. Reed's library, No. 2637.

A. D. 1597. [*]

"A most pleasant, fruitfull, and wittie worke, of the best state of a publique weale, and of the new Yle called *Vtopia;* written in Latine, by the right worthie and famous *Syr Thomas Moore,* Knyght: and translated into English by *Raphe Robinson,* sometime fellow of Corpus Christi Colledge in Oxford. *And now this third edition, newly corrected and amended.* London, printed by Thomas Creede, 1597, 4to.

The title-page is immediately succeeded by More's epistle to Giles; and at the conclusion of the Utopia is Giles's letter to Buslidius, which is followed by specimens of the Utopian language, as in the preceding edition. The work concludes at sign. T.

It is a thin and indifferently printed volume. A copy of it is in the library of the Royal Institution, and another in that of Mr. Heber. See also the Catalogue of Mr. Constable, the bookseller, of Edinburgh, No. 2157.

A. D. 1624.[*]

"SIR THOMAS MOORE's Vtopia: Containing an excellent, learned, wittie, and pleasant discourse of the best state of a publike Weale, as it is found in the Gouernment of the new ile called Vtopia. First written in Latine, by the Right Honourable and worthy of all fame, Sir Thomas Moore, Knight, Lord Chauncellour of England. And translated into English by Raphe Robinson, sometime Fellow of Corpus Christi College, in Oxford. And now after many impressions, newly corrected, and purged of all errors hapned in the former editions. London: Printed by BERNARD ALSOP, dwelling in Distaffe lane, at the Signe of the Dolphin. 4to. 1624.

On the second leaf begins the following Dedication.

"To the Honourable descended Gentleman, CRESACRE MORE, of More Place, in North Mimes, in the Countie of Hertford, Esquire; next in Bloud to Sir Thomas More, Lord Chauncellour of England, and Heire to the auncient Familie of

the Cresacres, sometime Lords of the Mannor of Bamorough, in the countie of Yorke, in the time of Edward the first.

Howsoeuer (in these wretched daies) the dedication of Bookes is growne into a wretched respect; because the Inducements looke a wrie, sometimes from vertue, pointing at ostentation, (which is grosse) or at flatterie, (which is more base) or else at gaine, which is the most sordid of all other: yet (worthy Sir) I beseech you be pleased better to conceive of this present: for the inducements which have drawne me to this boldnesse, cary (I might say a noble, but I dare be bold to say) an honest countenance; to omit the excellencie of the worke (yet unparaleled in that nature) or the noble parts of the more excellent Author, (whose remembrance is a myrror to all succeeding Nobilitie) both which might challenge Cæsar for a patron; yet when I look into your Honourable Pedigree, and find you the undoubted heire of his blood, me thought it was a theft of the worst nature, to give to another the inheritance of his virtue, and I might as well take from you the lands of the honourable and ancient family of Cresacre (with which God and your right hath endowed you), as bestow upon a stranger this glorious Common wealth, to which your owne bloud, your Auncestors virtue, and my dutie must necessarily intaile you: This consideration, when you please to take to your memory, I doubt not but it will

much lessen my presumption, and you will ont of the goodnesse of your owne virtue thinke, since it is my fortune to bestow upon him the new edition, I could not with good manners, but bring him to kisse the hand of his true owner, wishing that as this Book is eternall for the virtue, and shall live whilest any booke hath being: so your name and goodnesse may continue amongst us, ever flourishing and unwithered, so long as the Sunne and Moone endureth:

Your worship's ever to be commanded,

BERNARD ALSOP."

The Epistle of More, and of Giles to "Buslyde," follow this dedication. The Romance begins at page 1, opposite the Utopian metres, and concludes at p. 138. Then follow some verses of "Gerard Noviomage of Utopia," and of "Cornelius Graphey to the Reader." For an account of the merit of ALSOP's editions, see the opinion at the conclusion of the following one, by the same.

A. D. 1639. [*]

"THE Common Wealth of Utopia, Containing a Learned and pleasant Discourse of the best state of a Publike Weale, as it is found in the government of the New Ile, called *Utopia*. Written, &c. London: Printed for Wil. Sheares, and are to be sould at his Shop in *Bedford Street*, in Coven-Garden, neere the New Exchange, 8vo. 1639." Alsop and Fawcet the printers.

The preceding title page is *engraved* under a portrait of More, from Marshall—for account of which see p. cxxiv. ante. The title is followed by a Dedication to "Cresacre More," which the reader will see prefixed to the first book, post. This edition, "exactly done with applause," as Alsop styles it, is, in truth, one of the most careless and erroneous extant. It has every thing of Robinson's translation but its accuracy; and why it is so coveted by collectors is absolutely inexplicable. The type, paper, and text are equally wretched. The preceding *quarto* edition ought not to escape from the greater part of this censure. Alsop's editions of the Utopia are "omnium inquinatissimæ!" Antony Wood notices only this *octavo* edition of Alsop.

A. D. 1684.[*]

"UTOPIA; Written in Latin by Sir Thomas More, Chancellor of England: Translated into English. London; Printed for Richard Chiswell, at the Rose and Crown, in St. Paul's Church Yard. MDCLXXXIV. 8vo.

We now come to the celebrated translation of the Utopia by BISHOP BURNET—whose name is not inserted in the title-page, but of whose being the translator, there never yet was entertained a doubt. His preface (of 11 unnumbered pages) immediately succeeds the title—in the middle of which he thus remarks: "This small volume which I now publish, being writ by one of the greatest men that this island

has produced, seemed to me to contain so many fine and well digested notions, that I thought it might be no unkind nor ill entertainment to the nation, to put a book in their hands, to which they have so good a title, and which has a very common fate upon it, to be more known and admired all the world over, than here at home." He concludes thus, —"As the translators of *Plutarch's Heros*, or of *Tullies Offices*, are not concerned either in the maxims, or in the actions that they relate; so I, who only tell, in the best English I can, what Sir Thomas More writ in very elegant Latin, must leave his thoughts and notions to the reader's censure, and do think myself liable for nothing but the fidelity of the translation, and the correctness of the English; and for that I can only say, that I have writ as carefully, and as well as I can."

This edition contains only the preliminary letter of More to Giles. The text of the Utopia concludes the volume at p. 206. It is handsomely and accurately printed. Of the spirit and correctness of the translation, the reader will best judge from the parallel passages of it with Robinson's, which are quoted in the notes of the *present* edition. Upon the whole, I give the preference to Robinson's translation; although in the philosophical parts of the first book, Burnet has evidently the advantage. Perhaps Robinson was not a thorough master of the original Latin, or took less pleasure in those parts of the

work which relate to philosophical discussions —however this may be, he has made ample amends for occasional negligences, by the facility and richness of his style and expression, and by that air of frankness and simplicity which gives to fiction the appearance of truth. In Burnet's preface more is promised than has been performed—and those editors are rather complaisant than judicious, who say that his work has fixed an ÆRA in the translations of the UTOPIA.

A. D. 1741 or 8. qu?

This edition of the Utopia is noticed from a copy of it which appears to have been in the late Mr. Brand's library. As I have never seen it, I am unable to state its contents.

A. D. 1751.

"UTOPIA: Containing an Impartial History of the Manners, Customs, Polity, Government, &c. of that Island. Written in Latin by Sir THOMAS MORE, Chancellor of England. And interspersed with many important articles of Secret History, relating to the State of the British Nation. Translated into English by GILBERT BURNET, late Bishop of Sarum. To this edition is added a short account of Sir Thomas MORE's Life and Trial: and a Prayer made by him while he was a Prisoner in the Tower. The whole revised, corrected, and greatly improved, by THOMAS WILLIAMSON, Esq. Oxford,

Printed for J. Newbery, at the Bible and Sun, in St. Paul's Church Yard, London, MDCCLI. 8vo."

This long title-page sufficiently explains the contents of the edition. It begins with Burnet's preface: the "Life" is comprised in eight pages: after which follows More's letter to Giles. These pieces comprehend the first twenty-five pages. The "Trial" and "Prayer," the eight following ones, are separately numbered. The Epistles to Lupset and Buslidius are injudiciously omitted. This is a neat and rather common edition; and in some places the text is successfully amended. The Romance comprises 168 pages.

A. D. 1758.

"[The] HISTORY OF UTOPIA, translated into English; Describing the most perfect State of a Common Wealth, in the Manners, Religion, and Polity of that Island: With Notes, historical and explanatory. By FRED. WARNER, LL.D. London: Printed for L. Davis and C. Reymers, and J. PAYNE. M.DCC.LVIII. 8vo."

Subjoined to the "Life of More," of which some account was given at page li. ante. Dr. Warner was induced to publish this edition from the solicitation of Mr. Justice Burnet, son of the Bishop, and a great friend both of the editor and of Sir Robert Henley, to whom the work is dedicated. In this Dedication (p. xi.) Dr. Warner thus remarks: "The Political Romance, my Lord, which fills up the

remainder of the following sheets, has stood the test of several ages as a master-piece of wit and fancy: and if I have endeavoured to illustrate it in such a manner, as to make it useful to my country, in times of such degeneracy, that scarcely any thing but works of wit and fancy are looked upon, your Lordship will acknowledge that the design is laudable, how much soever I may have failed in its execution."

Of the "Illustrations" of Dr. Warner, the reader will judge for himself, from his notes—the whole of which are incorporated in the present edition. They relate rather to political reflections, than to historical facts, and anecdotes of the manners and customs of the times. This edition of the Utopia is, however, the first careful and critical one which appeared in our language; and if Dr. Warner had collated passages with the early English and Latin editions, rather than have implicitly adopted the phraseology of Burnet, very little would have been wanting to the representation of the pure text of the Utopia. The "Life" comprehends the first 150—the Romance, the latter 230 pages of the book—the epistle of More to Giles is only given. It is no uncommon book.

A. D. 1808.

"A NEW Translation of the Utopia, &c. By *Arthur Cayley* the younger, with the Life of King Richard III. the Latin Poems of our author."

This edition forms the second volume of the "Me-

moirs of Sir Thomas More," for which see p. liii. ante. Speaking of the celebrity of the Utopiá, Mr. Cayley thus observes: "It speedily gained him [Sir T. M.] great applause over Europe; was translated into French, Italian, Dutch, and English, and hath now stood the test of nearly three centuries as a masterpiece of wit and fancy. It hath, however, experienced somewhat of a severe fate, in being better known, and more admired abroad, than by the author's own countrymen: a circumstance, which may, in some measure, sanction its re-appearance in an English dress of the day, though its merit is greater than to allow of its deriving any advantage by translation." Vol. I. 260.

That the reader may judge for himself of the comparative merit of the translations of Mr. Cayley, Bishop Burnet, and Ralph Robinson, I have reserved for the note below * a specimen of the former—

* While there, among many who visited me, one person was more agreeable to me than any other. It was Ægidius, born at Antwerp, a man of great honour, and of good rank in his native city, though of less than he deserves, for I know not where to find a more learned and a better bred youth. Worthy and intelligent, he is so civil to all, so kind to his friends, and so full of candour and affection, that you will very rarely meet with so perfect a friend. He is extraordinarily modest, without artifice, but full of prudent simplicity. His conversation was so pleasant and innocently cheerful, that his company greatly lessened the desire of

without presuming to intrude any critical opinion of my own. Upon the whole, the public have reason to thank Mr. Cayley for his efforts in thus endeavouring to make Sir Thomas More's Works a popular study of the day.

A. D. 1808.

" UTOPIA; or, the Best State of a Commonwealth. Containing an Impartial History of the Manners, Customs, Polity, Government, &c. of that Island. By Sir Thomas More, Lord High Chancellor of

returning to my country and family, which an absence of four months had occasioned.

" One day, as I was returning from mass, I chanced to see him talking to a stranger, who seemed past the flower of his age. His face was tanned, his beard long, and his cloak hanging carelessly about him; so that, from his appearance, I concluded he was a seaman. When Peter saw me, he came and saluted me; and as I was returning his civility, he took me aside, and pointing to his companion, said, ' Do you see that man? I was just thinking of bringing him to you.' ' He should have been very welcome (I answered) on your account.' ' And on his own too, (he replied,) if you knew the man. For no one alive can give a more copious account of unknown countries, which I know you love.' ' Then (said I) I did not guess amiss, for I took him for a seaman.' ' But you are much mistaken (he said), for he hath been no Palinurus, but another Ulysses, or rather a Plato.' Vol. ii. 12, 13.

England. To which is prefixed a Life of the Author. London, printed for Jones and Bumford. Small 8vo. 1808."

This is a neat little edition, printed with a good type on wove paper. The life, which is an abridgment of Mr. Macdiarmid's, occupies the first xxxviii. pages; this is followed by a prayer of Sir Thomas More, as in the Oxford edition of 1751. Bishop Burnet's preface and translation of the Utopia occupy the next 212 pages, where the work concludes.

*** It may be proper here to observe, that the text of the *present* edition of the Utopia is, *in fact*, printed from Alsop's edition of 1639; as being the most convenient ancient edition for the compositor to execute. But Alsop's text differs so rarely from Robinson's, that both may be thought *one and the same*. Where, however, deviations do occur, they have been noticed below. This is mentioned to prevent any doubt or surprise, which otherwise might have been excited, by seeing the edition of 1551, referred to in the notes, quoted as a different text from that which the reader is perusing.

TO

THE HONOURABLE DESCENDED GENTLEMAN

CRESACRE MORE,

OF MORE PLACE, IN NORTH MIMS, IN THE COUNTY OF HERTFORD, ESQ.

Next in Blood to Sir THOMAS MORE, *Lord Chancellor of England,* and Heir to the ancient Family of the CRESACRES, some time Lord of the Manor of *Bamborough,* in the County of *York,* in the Time of Edward the First.

SIR,

I HAVE found you so noble in the first Dedication, that I should much derogate from your true worth, and wrong myself to make choice of a new patron for the second (exactly done with applause), wherein I presume it will be no sin to multiply my obligation. Your name and nature claims and

deserves it; it is your due and my duty; and were I able to express more, More should have it; for I must always acknowledge your goodness in whatsoever quality fortune shall bestow me. Sir, I know you are wise. In a word I am, really what I am;

Your worship's ever to be commanded,

BER. ALSOP.

Thomas More to Peter Giles.

*Sendeth greeting.**

I AM almost ashamed, right well beloved Peter Giles, *to send unto you this book of the Utopian Commonwealth, well nigh after a year's space, which I am sure you looked for within a month and a half. And no marvel: for you knew well enough that I was already disburdened of all the labour and study belonging to the invention of this work, and that I had no need at all to trouble my brains about the disposition, or conveyance of the matter: and therefore had herein nothing else to do but only to rehearse those things, which you and I, together, heard* Master Raphael *tell and declare.*

* *The translation of the* Epistle *is much more paraphrastic than of the* Romance; *the original, of which a specimen is given at page* 12 *(note), would not have occupied half the space.*

Wherefore there was no cause why I should study to set forth the matter with eloquence; forasmuch as his talk could not be fine and elegant, being first not studied for, but sudden and unpremeditate: and then, as you know, of a man better seen in the Greek language than in the Latin tongue. And my writing, the nigher it should approach to his homely, plain, and simple speech, so much the nigher should it go to the truth; which is the only mark whereunto I do and ought to direct all my travail and study herein.

I grant and confess, Friend Peter, *myself discharged of so much labour, having all these things ready done to my hand, that almost there was nothing left for me to do. Else, either the invention or the disposition of this matter, might have required of a wit, neither base nor at all unlearned, both some time and study. But if it were requisite and necessary that the matter should also have been written eloquently, and not alone truly, of a surety that thing could I have performed by no time nor study! But now, seeing all these cares stays and lets were taken away, wherein else so much labour and study should have been employed, and that there remained no*

other thing for me to do, but only to write plainly the matter as I heard it spoken—that, indeed, was a thing light and easy to be done.

Howbeit, to the dispatching of this so little business, my other cares and troubles did leave almost less than no leisure. While I do daily bestow my time about law matters; some to plead, some to hear, some as an arbitrator with mine award to determine; some as an umpire or a judge, with my sentence finally to discuss; while I go one way to see and visit my friend; an other way about mine own private affairs; while I spend almost all the day abroad amongst other, and the residue at home among my own; I leave to myself, I mean to my book, no time. For when I am come home, I must commune with my wife, chat with my children, and talk with my servants. All the which things I reckon and account among business; forasmuch as they must of necessity be done: and done must they needs be, unless a man will be a stranger in his own house. And in anywise a man must so fashion and order his conditions, and so appoint and dispose himself, that he be merry, jocund, and pleasant among them, whom either nature has provided, or chance hath

made, or he himself hath chosen to be the fellows and companions of his life: so that with too much gentle behaviour and familiarity he do not mar them, and by too much sufferance of his servants, make them his masters. Among these things now rehearsed, stealeth away the day, the month, the year!

When do I write then? and all this while have I spoken no word of sleep, neither yet of meat, which among a great number doth waste no less time than doth sleep,—wherein almost half the life time of man creepeth away. I therefore do win and get only that time, which I steal from sleep and meat. Which time, because it is very little, and yet somewhat it is, therefore have I once at the last, though it be long first, finished Utopia, *and have sent it to you, Friend* Peter, *to read and peruse: to the intent that if any thing have escaped me, you might put me in remembrance of it. For though in this behalf I do not greatly mistrust myself (which would God, I were somewhat in wit and learning, as I am not all of the worst and dullest memory!), yet have I not so great trust and confidence in it, that I think nothing could fall out of my mind. For*

John Clement, *my boy, who, as you know, was there present with us, whom I suffered to be away from no talk, wherein may be any profit or goodness (for out of this young* bladed and new shot up corn, which hath already begun to spring up both in Latin and Greek learning, I look for plentiful increase at length of goodly ripe grain); he, I say, hath brought me into a great doubt.*† *For whereas* Hythloday *(unless my memory fail me) said that the bridge of* Amaurote, *which goeth over the river of* Anydar, *is five hundred*

* *This* "John Clement" *seems to have been a servant of some literary curiosity. More took him with him abroad in his negociations at Cambray; and it was probably during his stay there that he found an opportunity of conveying to Henry Stephens (the famous French printer) one of the MSS. from which the* Odes of Anacreon *were afterwards first published in* 1554. *None of More's biographers relate this incident; but it is mentioned by Stephens himself, and an account of it will be seen in De La Monnoie's letter inserted in Bayle's Dict. Hist. et Crit. tom.* 1. *Art.* "*Anacreon*," *note L. Clement was afterwards a tutor in More's family, and became a Greek professor at Oxford.*

† "*His taking notice of a difference in this little incident, as well as of the omission in the following page, was evidently to cover the fiction, and give it the colour of a true history: nor could the situation of the island be ascertained, without discovering that it was imaginary.*" WARNER.

paces, — that is to say, half a mile in length; my John *saith, that two hundred of those paces must be plucked away, for that the river is there not above three hundred paces in breadth. I pray you heartily call the matter to your remembrance: for if you agree with him, I will also say as you say, and confess myself deceived. But if you cannot remember the thing, then surely I will write as I have done, and as mine own remembrance serveth me. For, as I will take good heed that there be in my book nothing false, so if there be any thing doubtful, I will rather tell a lye, than make a lye: because I had rather be good than wise.*

Howbeit, this matter may easily be remedied, if you will take the pains to ask the question of Raphael *himself, by word of mouth, if he be now with you, or else by letter. Which you must needs do for another doubt also that hath chanced;* through whose fault I cannot tell—whether through mine, or yours, or* Raphael's. *For neither we remembered to enquire of him, nor he to tell us, in what part of the new world* UTOPIA *is situated. The which thing, I had rather have*

* Happened : occurred.

spent no small sum of money, than that it should thus have escaped us: as well for that I am ashamed to be ignorant in what sea that island standeth, whereof I write so long a treatise, as also because there be with us certain men, especially one virtuous and godly man, and a professor of divinity, who is exceeding desirous to go unto* Utopia: *not for a vain and curious desire to see news, but to the intent he may further and increase our religion, which is there already begun.*

And that he may the better accomplish and perform this his good intent, he is minded to procure that he may be sent thither by the high

* *Who this professor was, or rather what induced More to create the fiction, cannot now be ascertained. More's biographers say that* Budæus *believed the whole narrative of Utopia to be true, and was for sending missionaries thither; but this belief does not appear in Budæus's letter to* Lupsetus, *prefixed to both the Basil editions of* 1518—63. *He says,* "*Verum ego Utopiam extra mundi cogniti fines sitam esse percunctando comperi, insulam nimirum fortunatam,* Elysiis fortasse campis proximam, &c.; *and again,* "*Morus certe insulam, et sancta instituta, stilo orationeque illustravit — omniaque ea addidit, unde operi magnifico decor venustasque accedit,*" &c. *This is certainly not the language of a man who seriously believed that there was such a race of beings as the* Utopians.

Bishop: yea, and he himself may be made Bishop of Utopia, *being nothing scrupulous herein that he must obtain this bishoprick with suit. For he counteth that a godly suit, which proceedeth not of the desire of honour or lucre, but only of a godly zeal.* Wherefore I most earnestly desire you, Friend* Peter, *to talk with* Hythloday, *if you can, face to face; or else to write your letters to him, and so to work in this matter, that in this my book there may neither any thing be found which is untrue, neither any thing be lacking which is true. And I think verily it shall be well done, that you shew unto him the book itself. For if I have missed or failed in any point, or if any fault have escaped me, no man can so well correct and amend it, as he can; and yet that can he not do, unless he peruse and read over my book written. Moreover by this means shall you perceive, whether he be well willing and content that I should undertake to put this work in writing. For if he be minded to publish, and put forth his own labour and travels himself, perchance he would be loth; and so*

* *The whole turn of this passage clearly proves that More is still indulging his Utopian vein of fiction.*

would I also, that in publishing the Utopian weal publique, *I should prevent him; and take from him the flower and grace of the novelty of this his history.**

Howbeit, to say the very truth, I am not yet fully determined with myself, whether I will put forth my book or no. For the nature of men be so divers, the fantasies of some so wayward, their minds so unkind, their judgments so corrupt, that they, which lead a merry and a jocund life, following their own sensual pleasures and carnal lusts, may seem to be in a much better state or case than they that vex and unquiet themselves with cares and study, for the putting forth and publishing of something that may be either profit or pleasure to others: which others, nevertheless, will disdainfully, scornfully, and unkindly accept the same. The most part of all be unlearned: and a

* "*Sir* THOMAS MORE *not only intended that this should pass for a true history, but also wished to conceal from the public that he had any hand in it as an author: and as there could be no great probability that the fiction could remain long undiscovered, we may suppose he was the more solicitous to succeed in the last intention; having said so many free things about religion and government in his narrative, repugnant to the principles of the times he wrote in.*" WARNER.

great number hath learning in contempt. The rude and barbarous alloweth nothing but that which is very barbarous indeed. If it be one that hath a little smack of learning, he rejecteth as homely gear, and common ware, whatsoever is not stuffed full of old moth-eaten words and terms, that be worn out of use.

Some there be that have pleasure only in old rusty antiquities: and some only in their own doings. One is so sour, so crabbed, and so unpleasant, that he can away with no mirth or sport. Another is so narrow in the shoulders, that he can bear no jests nor taunts. Some silly poor souls be so afraid, that at every snappish word*

* *There is a very apposite illustration of the* translator's *meaning in this place, in a picture of Hogarth. I think in his "England"---where some* broad-shouldered *Englishmen are in the foreground, and a girl, just risen from her seat, is measuring the width of one of their shoulders, leering at the same time to her female companion.*

The word translator *is here marked in roman, to denote that the passage is not to be found in the original. More's language is extremely terse and forcible, and the above characters are thus drawn by him. "Scioli aspernantur ut triviale, quicquid obsoletis verbis non scatet: quibusdam solum placent vetera, plerisque tantum sua: hic tamen tetricus est,*

their nose shall be bitten off, that they stand in no less dread of every quick and sharp word, than he that is bitten of a mad dog, feareth water. Some be so mutable and wavering, that every hour they be in a new mind, saying one thing sitting, and another thing standing. Another sort sitteth upon their ale benches, and there among their*

ut non admittat jocos: hic tam insulsus, ut non ferat sales: tam simi quidam sunt, ut nasum omnem, velut aquam ab rabido morsus cane, reformident: adeo mobiles alii sunt, ut aliud sedentes probent, aliud stantes: hi sedent in tabernis, et inter pocula &c." The reader will hence obtain a specimen of the closeness of the original, contrasted with the translation of 'Master Raphe Robinson.' He will observe how the expressions " tetricus, insulsus, and simi," have been spun out, not to say changed in some respects, by the translator.

* *The* alehouse *seems to have been, in all countries of modern Europe, the great rendezvous for debate as well as drinking and feasting, among the lower classes of people; and the benches placed on the outside of them, are still filled with vehement debaters as well as boisterous merry makers. Teniers's pictures are excellent illustrations of this subject. Some ingenious information may be obtained concerning wakes and merry makings at these places, in the edition of Shakspeare published in* 1803, *vol.* iv. *p.* 231. *Warton's long note (Hist. Eng. Poetry, vol.* iii. *p.* 128), *which is there referred to, I have perused, and it is full of entertainment. The* host *or landlord was generally considered a man of superior attainments,*

cups they give judgment of the wits of writers; and with great authority they condemn, even as pleaseth them, every writer according to his writing, in most spightful manner; mocking, louting, and flouting them: being themselves in the mean season safe, and, as saith the proverb, out of all "danger of gun shot." For they have not so much as one heart of an honest man, whereby one may take hold of them.

There be moreover some, so unkind and ungenteel, that, though they take great pleasure and delectation in the work, yet, for all that, they can not find in their hearts to love the Author thereof, nor to afford him a good word; being much like uncourteous, unthankful, and churlish guests, which, when they have with good

and was usually made umpire in disputes. Cornwallis, in his 22nd essay, " of alehouses," *thus begins; " I write this in an alehouse, into which I am driven by night, which would not give me leave to find out an honester harbour. I am without any company but ink and paper, and these I use instead of talking to myself:* my host hath already given me his knowledge, but I am little bettered." *See the Essays of Sir William Cornwallis, the younger, Knight. ed.* 1632. *The character of a* host *is well described in Sir Thomas Overbury's Characters. For which see note on* " tipling-houses," *p.* 65 *et seq.*

and dainty meat well filled their bellies, depart home, giving no thanks to the feast maker. Go your ways now, and make a costly feast at your own charge for guests so dainty mouthed, so divers in taste, and besides that, of so unkind and unthankful nature.

But nevertheless (Friend Peter) *do, I pray you, with* Hithloday, *as I willed you before. And, as for this matter, I shall be at my liberty afterwards to take new advisements. Howbeit, seeing I have taken great pains and labour in writing the matter, if it may stand with his mind and pleasure, I will, as touching the edition or publishing of the book, follow the counsel and advice of my friends, and especially yours. Thus, fare you well right heartily beloved Friend* Peter, *with your gentle wife! and love me as you have ever done, for I love you better than ever I did.*

THE

COMMONWEALTH OF UTOPIA,*

Book the First.

* "There is no doubt, I think, to be made, but that all More's own notions of government were recommended under this ingenious fiction of a common-wealth: and if in some instances of his conduct afterwards, he seemed evidently to counteract them, it may be supposed that he had seen reason to change his sentiments, upon farther knowledge, and more experience of men and things. These instances however, I apprehend, will be found to be very few: and the diffusion of property, which is the ground work of his plan, if we may judge from his superlative contempt of riches all through his life,—which in these days will be thought perhaps to be either folly or frenzy—was not one of the things which he afterwards disapproved." Warner.

"The Utopia is a philosophical romance, in which More, after the example of Plato, erects an imaginary republic, arranges a society in a form entirely new—and endows it with institutions more likely to secure its happiness than any which mankind have hitherto experienced. But with an improvement on the model of Plato, the republic of the Utopians assumes an actual existence: it is discovered by an adventurous navigator in a distant part of the new hemisphere, where it had for many ages continued to flourish: and More only communicates to the world what he learnt from the narrative of an intelligent eye-witness."——Macdiarmid's *Lives of British Statesmen*, 4to. 1807, p. 19.

If we are to credit the biography of More's great grandson, it would seem that the author of Utopia "judged the booke no better worthie, then to lye alwaies hidden in his owne iland, or else to be consecrated to *Vulcan*."

Life and Death of Sir Thomas More, 4to. edit. 2.

PROLOGUE.*

THE most victorious King of *England*, HENRY the Eighth of that name, in all royal virtues a Prince most peerless, had of late, in controversy with CHARLES, the right

* About the year 1720, there appeared a work called "Memoirs of a certain Island adjacent to the kingdom of UTOPIA? written by a celebrated author of that country, new translated into English."—Lond. 8vo. 1726. 2nd. edit.; but this seems to have been published as a vehicle only for romantic incidents, and licentious sentiments. It begins in

high and mighty King of *Castile*, weighty matters, and of great importance. For the debatement and final determination whereof, the King's Majesty sent me Ambassador into *Flanders*, joined in commission with CUTHBERT TUNSTALL,* a man doubtless out of comparison, and whom the King's Majesty

the following common-place style: "A noble youth, who had ranged o'er almost all the habitable part of the globe in search of pleasure and improvement, at last arrived at an island famous for arts and sciences, and talked of, by the neighbouring nations, as a place where all useful accomplishments might, in the most elegant manner, be attained. He had no sooner landed, than he was charmed with even the first and rudest prospects; but when he had entered farther, and could distinctly view the lovely landscape, he became quite lost, and ravished in contemplation. Where-e'er he cast his wondering eyes, all had the face of joy! of everlasting peace!—and soft repose!—no tumults —no noise—no stormy tongues of faction, nor elemental hurricanes seemed ever to have disturbed the quiet of this happy shore!" &c. &c.

* MORE here alludes to his having gone abroad with his esteemed friend TUNSTALL, to assist at the negociations for peace at Cambray. "In the concluding whereof," says Hoddesdon, "Sir Thomas More so worthily behaved himself, that for his good service in that employment, the King made him *Chancellor*, and caused the

of late, to the great rejoicing of all men, did prefer to the office of Master of the Rolls.

Duke of Norfolk openly to declare unto the people, how much all England was bounden unto him." See p. 41, 2.

The following brief particulars concerning TUNSTALL may be acceptable to the reader. Godwin says that there was a report of the founder of his family having been *Tonsor* to William I. : but this is entirely discredited by him. In 1529, when at Antwerp, on his return to England from Cambray, Tunstall found there the greater part of the first impression of Tindal's translation of the Bible, the whole of which he bought up, and, on his arrival in England, caused the same to be publicly burnt in Cheapside. I have heard that there are only *five* copies now in existence of this edition. In 1530, he was translated from the see of London to that of Durham—when, we are told by Fuller, that " the bishoprick of Durham had halcyon days under God and the good CUTHBERT TUNSTALL, a learned man of sweet disposition, rather devout to follow his own than cruel to persecute the conscience of others."

Tunstall was a zealous Catholic, and experienced that reverse of condition which public characters were almost sure to undergo in the reigns of Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth. He is allowed, upon the whole, to have been moderate and benevolent; though twice imprisoned in the Tower, nothing seems to have diminished that ardour for learning and science which always marked his conduct and writings. He wrote several grammatical and arithmetical treatises; and we are told by Granger, [vol. i. 94.

But of this man's praises I will say nothing; not because I do fear that small credence shall be given to the testimony that cometh out of a friend's mouth; but because his virtue and learning be greater, and of more excellency, than that I am able to praise them: and also in all places so famous and so perfectly well known, that they need not, nor ought not of me to be praised, unless I would seem to shew and set forth "*the brightness of the sun with a candle*,"* as the proverb saith.

edit. 1804.] that his work "*De Arte Supputandi*, was the first treatise on arithmetic published in England." Erasmus calls him "a man of most blameless life, excellently skilled in all human and divine learning, and ignorant of no branch of science." More always mentions him with rapture, and had the highest reverence for his abilities and virtues. See Stapleton *Vit. Mori*, 63, 4. His Latin epitaph, engraved on his tomb in Lambeth church (where he was buried with great pomp), was written by Walter Haddon, but not in very elegant Latinity. Consult Godwin *De Præsulibus Angliæ*, p. 755. Fox's Martyrs, vol. ii. p. 11. edit. 1641.

* "Nisi videri velim solem *lucerna*." Burnet and Warner have translated 'lucerna' a *lantern:* but the above, which is also in the translation of 1551, seems better to convey the spirit of the original. More himself made use of the same English expression, in his speech on being made Chancellor,

There met us at *Bruges* (for thus it was before agreed) they whom their Prince had for that matter appointed commissioners: excellent men all. The chief and head of them was the Margrave* (as they call him) of *Bruges*, a right honourable man: but the wisest and the best spoken of them was GEORGE TEMSISE,† provost of *Casselses*, a man, not only by learning, but also by nature, of singular eloquence, and in the laws profoundly learned—but in reasoning and

when he compared himself with his predecessor Wolsey—"to whom I may seem but as the *lighting of a candle*, when the sun is down."—*Hoddesdon's Life*, p. 51.

* "Præfectus Brugensis." The word "Margrave" [from the German,—signifying, a keeper of marches or borders] was adopted in our language, I believe, towards the middle of the 16th century; probably for the first time, in the present work.

† "Georgius Temsicius." Burnet and Warner have translated this uncouth Latin name "Temse;" but there is more force in the old translation. This gentleman who, for good reasons, does not occur in Foppens's Bibl. Belgica, appears to have been the head of Cassel, the capital of the landgraviate of Hesse CASSEL, in the circle of the Upper Rhine: there are, however, two other towns in the Low Countries called by the same name. The first English translation styles him "Temsice."

debating of matters, what by his natural wit, and what by daily exercise, surely he had few fellows! After that we had once or twice met, and upon certain points or articles could not fully and thoroughly agree, they, for a certain space, took their leave of us and departed to *Brussels*, there to know their prince's pleasure. I, in the mean time (for so my business lay), went straight thence to *Antwerp*.

While I was there abiding, oftentimes among other, but which to me was more welcome than any other, did visit me one PETER GILES,* a citizen of *Antwerp;* a man there in his country of honest reputation, and also preferred to high promotions, worthy truly of the highest. For it is hard to say, whether the young man be in learning or in honesty more excellent. For he is both of wonderful virtuous conditions, and also singularly well learned, and towards all sorts of people exceeding gentle: but towards his friends so kind hearted, so loving, so faithful, so trusty, and of so

* "PETRUS ÆGIDIUS, Antverpiæ natus."

earnest affection, that it were very hard in any place to find a man, that with him in all points of friendship may be compared. No man can be more lowly or courteous; no man useth less simulation, or dissimulation; in no man is more prudent simplicity. Besides this, he is in his talk and communication so merry and pleasant, yea, and that without harm, that through his gentle entertainment, and his sweet and delectable communication, in me was greatly abated and diminished the fervent desire that I had to see my native country, my wife and my children, whom then I did much long and covet to see; because that, at that time, I had been more than four months from them.

Upon a certain day when I had heard the divine service in our *Lady's Church*, which is the fairest, the most gorgeous, and curious church of building in all the city, and also most frequented of people—and the service being done, was ready to go home to my lodging, I chanced to espy this foresaid PETER talking with a certain stranger, a man well stricken in age, with a black

sun-burned face, a long beard, and a cloak cast homely about his shoulders, whom, by his favour and apparel, forthwith I judged to be a mariner. But the said PETER seeing me, came unto me and saluted me. And as I was about to answer him: "See you this man," saith he (and therewith he pointed to the man that I saw him talking with before), "I was minded (quoth he) to bring him straight home to you." "He should have been very welcome to me (said I) for your sake." "Nay (quoth he) for his own sake, if you knew him: for there is no man this day living, that can tell you of so many strange and unknown people and countries as this man can. And I know well that you be very desirous to hear of such news." "Then I conjectured not far amiss (quoth I), for even at the first sight, I judged him to be a mariner. Nay (quoth he), there ye were greatly deceived: he hath sailed indeed, not as the mariner PALINURE, but as the expert and prudent Prince ULYSSES: yea, rather as the ancient and sage philosopher PLATO. For this same RAPHAEL HYTHLO-

DAY,* this being his name, is very well learned in the Latin tongue; but profound and excellent in the Greek language. Wherein he ever bestowed more study than in the Latin, because he had given himself wholly to the study of philosophy. Whereof he knew that there is nothing certain in Latin that is to any purpose, saving a few of *Seneca's* and *Cicero's* doings. His patrimony that he was born unto, he left to his brethren (for he is a *Portugal* born), and for the desire he had to see and know the far countries of the world, he joined himself in company with AMERICKE VESPUCE;† and in the three last voyages

* "Sic enim vocatur gentilitio nomine HYTHLODÆUS."—The names of More's characters, and especially of the present one, seem to be rather whimsically chosen; they remind us a little of Rousseau's uncouth appellation of an English Noblemen—"Mi lord BUMSTED!"

It has been fancied that, under these names, More meant to convey some personal allusions—which cannot now be explained. This, however, is the mere fancy of an annotator.

† "Americo Vespucio se adiunxit."—Americus Vesputius, according to Burnet; who thinks this name more

of those four that be now in print, and abroad in every man's hands, he continued still in his company, saving that in the last voyage he came not home again with him. For he made such means and shift, what by intreatance, and what by importune suit, that he got license of Master AMERICKE (though it were sore against his will) to be one of the twenty-four, which in the end of the last voyage were left in the country of *Gulicke*. He was therefore left behind for his mind sake, as one that took more thought and care for travelling than dying; having customably in his mouth these sayings: *He that hath no grave is covered with the sky;* and, *The way to heaven, out of all places, is of like length and distance.** Which

deserving of latinisation than Temsicius. VESPUTIUS was surnamed "*Americanus,*" on account of his being the first writer who gave us a description of America: his narrative may be seen among the Collections of Voyages by Ramusio and Harris.

* "Cœlo tegitur, qui non habet urnam, &c."—"The way to heaven is the same from all places, and he that has no grave has the heavens still over him."—So Burnet; but not so happy as the above; which is also the first

fantasy of his (if God had not been his better friend), he had surely bought full dear. But after the departure of Master VESPUCE, when he had travelled through and about many countries with five of his companions, Gulikians—at the last, by marvellous chance he arrived in *Taprobane*,* from whence he went to *Caliquit*,† where he chanced to find certain of his country ships, wherein he returned again into his country, nothing less than looked for. All this when PETER had told me, I thanked him for his gentle kindness that he had vouchsafed to bring me to the speech of that man, whose com-

translation of 1551. The French translation is elegant and close: "qui n'est point enterré, a le ciel pour chapeau; et, qu'il n'y a point d'endroit d'où on ne puisse aller à Dieu."

* This word is used by the ancient geographers Strabo, Pliny, and Ptolemy, as descriptive of that immense island in the Indian ocean which our moderns call *Ceylon*: see *Baudrandi Geographia*, tom. ii. 286. A curious circumstance connected with the discovery of it is noticed by Dr. Vincent in his *Commerce of the Ancients*, vol. i. 48. n. 117. edit. 1807.

† Calicut: a town on the Malabar coast.

munication he thought should be to me pleasant and acceptable. And therewith I turned me to RAPHAEL: and when we had hailed each other, and had spoken those common words that be customably spoke at the first meeting and acquaintance of strangers, we went thence to my house, and there in my garden,* upon a bench covered with green turfs, we sat down talking together.

* "Ibique in horto considentes, in scamno cespitibus herbeis constrato, confabulamur:" "and entering into the garden, sat down on a green bank, and entertained one another in discourse:" so Burnet and Warner—but it is not so faithful a translation as the old, nor does it express the action so picturesquely. The opposite vignette, taken from the *Editio princeps*, is a very correct, as well as curious representation of it.

The opening of the narrative is extremely pleasing, and well conceived. More makes his hero "*Master Hythloday*" unfold the laws, manners, and customs, &c. of the fabulous Utopians, with an air of as much importance as that which Ulysses assumed with Calypso, or Æneas with Dido. If I might mention small things after great, I would just observe that the episodes or tales in the novel of "Gil Blas De Santillane" are introduced with more skill and natural effect, than in any other similar production that I know of.

INTRODUCTORY DISCOURSE,

&c.

HERE he told us how that, after the departing of VESPUCE, he and his fellows that tarried behind in *Gulicke*,* began by little and little, through fair and gentle speech,

* "In Castello,"—"New Castile:" as all the other translations properly have it.

to win the love and favour of the people of that country; insomuch, that within short space they did dwell among them, not only harmless, but also occupying with them familiarly. He told us also, that they were in high reputation and favour with a certain great man (whose name and country are now quite out of my remembrance), which of his mere liberality, did bear the costs and charges of him and his five companions: and besides that, gave them a trusty guide to conduct them in their journey (which by water was in boats, and by land in waggons), and to bring them to other princes with very friendly commendations.

Thus after many days journeys, he said they found towns and cities, and weal-publiques full of people, governed by good and wholesome laws: for under the line equinoctial,* and on both sides of the same, as far as the sun doth extend its course, lieth (quoth he) great and wide desarts;† and wildernesses

* "Æquator," in Burnet.—"Sub Æquatoris linea," in the original Latin.

† "Vast desarts that were parched with the perpetual heat of the sun: the soil was withered; all things looked

parched, burned, and dried up with continual and intolerable heat. All things be hideous, terrible, loathsome, and unpleasant to behold: all things out of fashion and comeliness; inhabited with wild beasts and serpents; or, at the least-wise, with people that be no less savage, wild, and noisome than the very beasts themselves be. But a little farther beyond that, all things begin by little and little to wax pleasant: the air soft, temperate, and gentle: the

dismally, and all places were either quite uninhabited, or abounded with wild beasts and serpents, and some few men, that were neither less wild nor less cruel than the beasts themselves. But as they went farther, a new scene opened; all things grew milder, the air less burning, the soil more verdant, and even the beasts were less wild." So Burnet and Warner; but not equal to the above, which is also in the first English translation.—The Latin passage is as follows: " vastas objacére solitudines perpetuo fervore torridas. Squalor undique et tristis rerum facies, horrida atque inculta omnia, feris habitata serpentibusque, aut denique hominibus neque minus efferis quam sint beluæ, neque minus noxiis. Ceterum ubi longius evectus sis, paulatim omnia mansuescere, cœlum minus asperum, solum virore blandum, mitiora animantium ingenia," &c.

ground covered with green grass: less wildness in the beasts. At the last shall ye come to people, cities, and towns, wherein is continual intercourse and occupying of merchandize and chaffare,* not only among themselves and with their borderers, but also with the merchants of far countries, both by land and water.

There I had occasion (said he) to go to many countries on every side; for there was no ship ready to any voyage or journey, but I and my fellows were into it very gladly received. The ships that they found first, were made plain, flat, and broad in the bottom trough-wise. The sails were made of great rushes, or of wickers, and in some places of leather. Afterward they found ships with ridged keels, and sails of canvass: yea, and shortly after, having all things like ours. The shipmen also were expert and cunning, both in the sea and in the weather. But he said, that he found great favour and friendship among them, for teaching them the feat and use of the *load-*

* *Wares.* The above word is used by Chaucer and Spenser.

stone,* which to them before that time was unknown. And therefore they were wont to be very timorous and fearful upon the sea, nor to venture upon it, but only in the summer time. But now they have such a confidence in that stone, that they fear not stormy winter: in so doing farther from care than danger. In so much, that it is greatly to be doubted, least that thing, through their own foolish hardiness, shall turn them to evil and harm, which at the first was supposed should be to them good and commodious. But what he told us that he saw in every country where he came, it were very long to declare: neither is it my purpose at this time to make rehearsal thereof. But peradventure in another place will I speak of it: chiefly such things as shall be profitable to be known; as in special be those decrees and ordinances that he marked to be well and wittily provided and enacted among such people as do together live in a civil policy and good order. For of such

* "Tradito *magnetis* usu:" the use of the *compass* is here alluded to.

things did we busily enquire and demand of him, and he likewise very willingly told us of the same. But as for monsters, because they be no news, of them we were nothing inquisitive: for nothing is more easy to be found, than be barking *Scyllas*, ravening *Celenes*, and *Lestrigones*, devourers of people, and such like great and incredible monsters.* But to find citizens ruled by good and wholesome laws, that is an exceeding rare and hard thing!

But as he marked many fond and foolish laws in those new-found lands, so he rehearsed divers acts and constitutions, whereby these our cities, nations, countries, and kingdoms may take example to amend their faults, enormities, and errors. Whereof in another place (as I said) I will intreat. Now at this time I am determined to rehearse only what he told us of the manners,

* This is a just satire upon those travels, which are minute in the description of such trifles as bring no acquisition of knowledge, or improvement to mankind: and which are silent in the great affairs of government, of human life, and the history of the heart of man.

WARNER.

customs, laws, and ordinances of the *Utopians*. But first I will repeat our former communication, by the occasion and (as I might say) the drift whereof, he was brought into the mention of the weal-public: for when RAPHAEL had very prudently touched divers things that be amiss, some here and some there; yea, very many on both parts; and again had spoken of such wise laws and prudent decrees as be established and used both here among us and also among them; as a man so perfect and expert in the laws and customs of every several country, as though into what place soever he came guestwise, there he had led all his life: then PETER much marvelling at the man; "Surely Master RAPHAEL (quoth he), I wonder greatly why you get not into some King's court: for I am sure there is no Prince living that would not be very glad of you, as a man not only able highly to delight him with your profound learning, and this your knowledge of countries and peoples, but also meet to instruct him with examples, and

help him with counsel; and thus doing, you shall bring yourself in a very good case, and also be of ability to help all your friends and kinsfolk." "As concerning my friends and kinsfolk (quoth he), I pass not greatly for them: for I think I have sufficiently done my part towards them already. For these things—that other men do not depart from until they be old and sick; yea, which they be then very loth to leave, when they can no longer keep—those very same things did I, being not only lusty, and in good health, but also in the flower of my youth, divide among my friends and kinsfolk.* Which I think with this my

* How many people of great wealth, and without a family, this distribution of his riches is a reproach to, who, without a capacity of enjoying a tenth part of what they have, withhold it from public and private charities, and from those very relations and friends to whom they intend to leave it at their death, when they can no longer keep it; how many people it reproaches, who have great understandings, and know the injury which this avarice does to society; how many others it condemns, who have to all appearance a great sense of religion, and yet who know that there can be no real religion with such a temper of mind—the reader will be able to determine without any pointing out. WARNER.

liberality ought to hold them contented, and not to require nor to look that besides this, I should for their sakes give myself in bondage unto kings." "Nay,* God forbid that (quoth PETER), it is not my mind that you should be in *bondage* to kings, but as a *retainer* to them at your pleasure. Which surely I think is the nighest way that you can devise how to bestow your time fruitfully, not only for the private commodity of your friends, and for the general profit of all sorts of people, but also for the advancement of yourself to a much wealthier state and condition than you be now in." "To a wealthier condition (quoth RAPHAEL), by these means which my mind

* "Bona verba, inquit Petrus, mihi visum est non ut *servias* regibus, sed ut *inservias*." says the original, which Burnet translates, "soft and fair, said Peter, I do not mean that you should be a slave to any king, but only that you should assist them and be useful to them." This is less close and spirited than the old translation—though the beginning "soft and fair" is rather preferable for the "bona verba" of the original.

Dryden has made a literal translation of these two words, in his Virgil. Bucolic iii. v. 7. "Parcius ista viris, &c." "Good words, young C——."

standeth clean against! Now, I live at liberty after mine own mind and pleasure, which I think very few of these great states and peers of realms can say. Yea, and there be enough of them that sue for great men's frendships: and therefore think it no great hurt if they have not me, nor third or fourth such other as I am. "Well, I perceive plainly friend RAPHAEL (quoth I), that you be desirous neither of riches nor of power: and truly I have in no less reverence and estimation a man of your mind, than any of them all that be so high in power and authority: but you shall do as it becometh you; yea, and according to this wisdom, to this high and free courage of yours, if you can find in your heart so to appoint and dispose yourself, that you may apply your wit and diligence to the profit of the weal-public, though it be somewhat to your own pain and hindrance. And this shall you never so well do, nor with so great profit perform, as if you be of some great prince's council and put into his head (as I doubt not but you will) honest opinions,

and virtuous persuasions. For from the prince,* as from a perpetual well-spring, cometh among the people the flood of all that is good or evil. But in you is so perfect learning, that without any experience, and again so great experience, that without any learning, you may well be any king's counsellor."

"You be twice deceived Master MORE (quoth he), first in me, and again in the thing itself: for neither is in me the ability that you force upon me, and if it were never so much, yet in disquieting mine own quietness I should nothing further the weal-public. For first of all, the most part of all Princes have more delight in warlike matters and feats of chivalry (the knowledge whereof I neither have nor desire), than in the good feats of peace: and employ much more study, how by right or by wrong to enlarge

* The above is a purer and stronger translation than Burnet's—"for the springs both of good and evil flow from the prince over a whole nation, as from a lasting fountain" More says, "Nempe a principe bonorum malorumque omnium torrens in totum populum, velut a perenni quodam fonte, promanat."

their dominions, than how well and peaceable to rule and govern that they have already. Moreover, they that be counsellors to kings, every one of them either is of himself so wise indeed that he needeth not, or else he thinketh himself so wise that he will not allow, another man's counsel, saving that they do shamefully and flatteringly give assent to the fond and foolish sayings of certain great men: whose favours, because they be in high authority with their Prince, by assentation and flattery they labour to obtain. And verily it is naturally given to all men to esteem their own inventions best: so both the raven and the ape think their own young ones fairest. Then if a man in such a company, where some disdain and have despite at other men's inventions, and some count their own best; if among such men (I say) a man should bring forth any thing, that he hath read done in times past, or that he hath seen done in other places;* there the hearers fare as though

* This passage is rather obscure; Alsop, the editor, seems to have implicitly followed Robinson, the first trans-

the whole existimation of their wisdom were in jeopardy to be overthrown, and that ever after they should be counted for very ideots, unless they could in other men's inventions pick out matter to reprehend and find fault at. If all other poor helps fail, then this is their extreme refuge. These things, say they, pleased our forefathers and ancestors: would God we could be so wise as they were: and, as though they had wittily concluded the matter, and with this answer stopped every man's mouth, they sit down again; as who should say, it were a very dangerous matter if a man in any point should be found wiser than his forefathers were! And yet be we content to suffer the best and wittiest of their decrees to lie unexecuted: but if in any thing a

lator. Burnet says, somewhat more intelligibly; "the rest would think that the reputation of their wisdom would sink, and that their interests would be much depressed if they could not run it down,"—which is sufficiently feeble. More means that "the pride of some people's intellects is frequently wounded when they are unable to make an observation, or reply to a narrative of a perfectly novel nature."

better order might have been taken than by them was, there we take fast hold, finding there many faults. Many times have I chanced upon such proud, lewd, over-thwart, and wayward judgments; yea, and once in *England*."—"I pray you, Sir, quoth I, have you been in our country? Yea, forsooth, (quoth he) and there I tarried for the space of four or five months together; not long after the insurrection the western Englishmen made against their king,* which by their own miserable and pitiful slaughter was suppressed and ended.

In the mean season, I was much bound and beholding to the right reverend father JOHN MORTON,† *Archbishop and Cardinal of Canterbury*, and at that time also Lord

* The insurrection of the *Cornish men*, in the year 1495, is, I suppose, here alluded to.

† The manner in which this amiable character is introduced, is singularly happy: and the *above* (which is also the first) *translation* of More's description of him, is in every respect superior to Burnet's. I subjoin the Latin, that the reader may judge for himself: "Etenim statura ei mediocris erat, nec ætati quanquam seræ cedens; vultus quem revereare, non horreas: in congressu non difficilis,

Chancellor of England; a man, Master PETER, (for Master MORE knoweth already what

serius tamen et gravis. Libido erat, asperius interdum compellando supplicantes experiri, sed sine noxa, quid ingenii, quam animi præsentiam quisque præ se ferret, qua velut cognatâ sibi virtute, modo abesset impudentia, delectabatur, et ut idoneam ad res gerendas amplectebatur. Sermo politus et efficax, juris magna peritia, ingenium incomparibile, memoria ad prodigium usque excellens. Hæc enim natura egregia discendo atque exercendo provexit."

Of this excellent metropolitan and chancellor, very little is now known. In More's life by his grandson, 4to. edit. p. 18, 19, he is only mentioned as connected with Sir Thomas; but his ready and early patronage of More, and most probably of other ingenious young men of the age, is plainly to be inferred from the same authority. How the Cardinal was delighted with the author of the Utopia in particular, may be seen by the anecdote recorded in the next note. Morton took upon himself the expenses of More's college education, and afterwards placed him at one of the Inns of Court. "The king and the commonwealth relied chiefly upon this man's counsell, as he, by whose policie, king Henrie the Seaventh both gott the crown of England from Richard the Third, the usurper, and also most happily procured the two housez of Lancaster and Yorke to be united by marriage." More's Life by his great grandson, 4to. edit. p. 19.

Dr. John Barwick, in his Life of Bishop [Thomas] Morton, who lived in the seventeenth century, and who was a

I will say), not more honourable for his authority, than for his prudence and virtue. He was of a mean stature, and though stricken in age, yet bare he his body upright.

In his face did shine such an amiable reverence, as was pleasant to behold. Gentle in communication, yet earnest and sage. He had great delight many times with rough

descendant of the Cardinal, tells us, that, it was by the Archbishop's "contrivance and management, the two houses of York and Lancaster were united; whereby that issue of blood was stopped which had so long and plentifully flowed within the bowels of this our native country." See Barwick's Life of the Bishop, p. 61. edit. London, 4to. 1660.

The Archbishop was a general patron of literature, for we find many early printed books dedicated to him: among others, there is a very rare one by Holt, a schoolmaster, printed without date or printer's name, but from the typography, I should suppose it to be Wynkyn de Worde's. It is called "*Lac Puerorum, Mylke for Chyldren:*" this title is over a wood cut of a schoolmaster surrounded by his boys. On the reverse of the title is the dedication to Morton, with some Latin verses by More, when he was a young man—subscribed "Thome More diserti adolescentuli in lucubraciunculas Holtiade Epigramma."

speech to his suitors, to prove, but without harm, what prompt wit and what bold spirit were in every man. In the which, as in a virtue much agreeing with his nature, so that therewith were not joined impudency, he took great delectation. And the same person as apt and meet to have an administration in the weal-public, he did lovingly embrace. In his speech he was fine, eloquent, and pithy. In the law he had profound knowledge; in wit, he was incomparable; and in memory wonderful excellent. These qualities, which in him were by nature singular, he by learning and use had made perfect. The king put much trust in his counsel, the weal-public also in a manner leaned unto him, when I was there: for even in the chief of his youth, he was taken from school into the court, and there passed all his time in much trouble and business, being continually tumbled and tossed in the waves of divers misfortunes and adversities. And so by many and great dangers, he learned the experience of the world, which, so being learned, cannot easily be forgotten.

It chanced on a certain day, when I sat at his table,* there was also a certain layman, cunning in the laws of your realm: who, I cannot tell, whereof taking occasion, began diligently and earnestly to praise that strait

* By introducing the ensuing discussion at the Cardinal's table, More takes an opportunity of paying a compliment to his first patron and friend, MORTON; in whose house he himself, when a young man, was received with great courtesy and kindness "For the Cardinall often would make trial of [More's] his pregnant wit, especially at *Christmas Merriments*, when, having plays for recreation, this youth would suddenly steppe up amongst the players, and never studying before upon the matter, make often a part of his own invention; which was so witty and so full of jests, that he alone made more sporte and laughter than all the players besides; for which his towardliness, the Cardinall delighted much in him, and would often say of him unto diverse of the Nobilitie, who at sundry times dined with him, that "that boy there waiting on him, whosoever should live to see it, would prove *a marvelous rare man!*" Great Grandson's Life, 4to. edit. 19, 20. Hoddesdon's Life, p. 3.

Almost the whole of this first book, which may be called rather *An introduction to the history of Utopia*, is supposed to be the conversation which passed at the Cardinal's table, between the Cardinal, Hythloday, a Lawyer, Friar, &c. &c.

and rigorous justice, which at that time was there executed upon felonies; who, as he said, were, for the most part, twenty hanged together upon one gallows! And, seeing so few escaped punishment, he said he could not choose but greatly wonder and marvel how and by what evil luck it should so come to pass, that thieves nevertheless were in every place so rife * and so rank." "Nay, Sir, quoth I (for I durst boldly speak my mind, before the Cardinal), marvel nothing hereat: for this punishment of thieves passeth the limits of justice, and is also very hurtful to the weal-public:† for it is too extreme and cruel a punishment for theft, and yet not sufficient to restrain and withhold men from theft: for

* *Sanguinary*: from the Saxon to thrust, or stab.

† This is a very judicious observation.—MORE saw, even in his own times, when the *penal laws* were not so multiplied in this country as they are at present, that many of our punishments were disproportionate to the offences for which they were inflicted. Montesquieu, Beccaria, Blackstone, and other legal writers, have supported the same opinion. It is the *certainty*, and not the severity, of punishment which operates against the commission or repetition of crime. "If we enquire," says the profound

simple theft is not so great an offence, that it ought to be punished with death; neither is there any punishment so horrible that it can keep *them* from stealing which have none other craft whereby to get their living. Therefore in this point, not you only, but also the most part of the world, be like evil schoolmasters, which be readier to beat than to teach their scholars. For great and horrible punishments be appointed for thieves, whereas, much rather, provision should have been made that there were some means whereby they might get their living; so that no man should be driven to this extreme necessity—first to steal, and then to die." "Yes (quoth he), this matter is well enough provided for already. There be handy-crafts—there is husbandry to get their living, if they would not willingly be naught." "Nay, quoth I, you shall not escape so: for, first of all, I will speak nothing of them that come home out of the wars maimed and lame, as not long ago

Montesquieu, "into the causes of all human corruptions, we shall find that they proceed from the *impunity of criminals*, and not from the moderation of punishments." Sp. Laws, book. vi. ch. xii.

out of *Blackheath* * field, and a little before that, out of the wars in *France:* such, I say, as put their lives in jeopardy for the weal-publics, or the king's sake, and by reason of weakness and lameness be not able to occupy their old crafts, and be too aged to learn new—of them I will speak nothing; forasmuch as war, like the tide, ebbeth and floweth.

But let us consider those things that chance daily before our eyes. First, there is a great number of gentlemen which cannot be content to live idle themselves, like dorrers,† of that which other have laboured for—their tenants, I mean; whom they poll and shave to the quick, by raising their rents (for this only point of frugality do

* "*è Cornubiensi prælio*" in the original; which Burnet and Warner translate "the Cornish rebellion." The Cornish rebels marched as far as Black Heath, where they gave battle to the king's forces, and were defeated with great slaughter.

† *Drones;* in the modern translation. The substantive "*Dorrers*" is of rare occurrence. Dr. Johnson says that the verb "*To dorr,*" [a Teutonick word, from *Tor,* stupid] he found only in Skinner. More's expression is "tanquam *fuci,*" which Robinson has translated as above.

they use, men else, through their lavish and prodigal spending, able to bring themselves to very beggary); these gentlemen, I say, do not only live in idleness themselves, but also carry about with them at their tails, a great flock or train of idle and loitering serving-men, which never learned any craft whereby to get their livings.* These men, as soon as their master is dead, or be sick themselves, be incontinently thrust out of

* It would be well if our nobility and people of fashion would consider the great injury they do to the public, by retaining so many young and able men in their service; who do nothing, and have nothing to do, but to wear a livery; to loll behind a coach; to learn the follies and vices of their masters in their conversations at table; and when they are dismissed a service for their dishonesty, scarcely any thing else being thought a crime, either go upon the highway, or at best take a public-house, and make it a nursery and place of resort for all manner of wickedness. This multiplicity of idle servants, which in the present age is almost a nuisance, takes many useful hands from the public, who might be employed to great advantage in agriculture, and the navy; in both which such hands are extremely wanted. But we seem to be so infatuated, that nothing will awaken us from our luxury, and national folly, till it is too late for any purpose but to feel our misery.

WARNER.

doors: for gentlemen had rather keep idle persons, than sick men, and many times the dead man's heir is not able to maintain so great a house, and keep so many serving-men as his father did. Then in the mean season, they that be thus destitute of service, either starve for hunger or manfully play the thieves:* for what would you have them to do? When they have wandered abroad so long, until they have worn threadbare their apparel, and also impaired their health; then gentlemen, because of their pale and sickly faces and patched coats, will not take them into service: and husbandmen dare not set them a work; knowing well enough, that *he* is nothing meet to do true and faithful service to a poor man with a spade and mattock for

* Robbery was sufficiently prevalent in these times; for 22,000 criminals are supposed to have been executed during Henry the Eighth's reign. Hollinshed, [pp. 186, 199, and 246,] is quoted by Dr. Henry to prove that theft was in some measure regarded as an occupation, "of which the guilt might be extenuated by courage and success!" See the latter's Hist. of Great Britain, vol. xii. p. 362. 8vo. edit. 1799. It is said, at page 55 (post.), "Thieves be not the most false and faint-hearted soldiers," &c.

small wages and hard fare, which, being daintily and tenderly pampered up in idleness and pleasure, was wont with a * sword and a buckler by his side, to jet through the street with a bragging look, and to think himself too good to be any man's mate.

* This is a curious picture of the customs of the times as relating to the *Dresses of Servants*. We are told by Fitzherbert, a contemporaneous writer, that "Men's servants have suche pleytes upon theyr brestes, and ruffes upon their sleves, above theyr elbowes, that yf theyr mayster, or theymselfe, hadde never so greatte neede, they coulde not shoote one shote to hurte theyr ennemyes, tyll they had cast of theyr cotes, or cut of theyr sleves." See his *Husbandry*, p. 96, and consult Strutt's Antiq. vol. iii. 75. Such, however, was the capriciousness of the national dress at this time, that according to Camden, p. 17, it was represented by the naked figure of an Englishmen, "in a musing posture, with sheers in his hand, and cloth on his arm, perplexed amidst a multiplicity of fashions, and uncertain how to devise his garments." Consult Dr. Henry's Hist. of Gr. Britain, vol. xii. 370. ed. 1799. vide p. 64. post.

The words of MORE are, "solitus sit accinctus *acinace* ac cætra, totam viciniam vultu nebulonico despicere," &c. which describe a more gorgeous dress: "*Acinaces*" means a *Persian scymitar*, and is so used by Horace in lib. i. Od. xxvii. v. 5. See Watson's note upon this expression, ed. 1750. vol. i. 114. [4.]

Nay, by Saint Mary, Sir (quoth the lawyer), not so: for this kind of men must we make most of; for in them, as men of stouter stomachs, bolder spirits, and manlier courages than handy craftsmen and ploughmen be, doth consist the whole power, strength, and puissance of our army, when we must fight in battle." "Forsooth, Sir, as well you might say (quoth I), that for wars sake you must cherish thieves: for surely you shall never lack thieves, whilst you have them. No, nor thieves be not the most false and faint-hearted soldiers, nor soldiers be not the cowardliest thieves: so well these two crafts agree together. But this fault, though it be much used among you, yet is it not peculiar to you only, but common also almost to all nations. Yet *France* besides this is troubled and infected with a much sorer plague. The whole realm is filled and besieged with hired soldiers in peace time (if that be peace) which be brought in under the same colour and pretence, that hath persuaded you to keep these idle serving-men. For these wise-fools and very arch dolts, thought the

wealth of the whole country herein to consist, if there were ever in readiness a strong and a sure garrison, specially of old practised soldiers; for they put no trust at all in men unexercised. And therefore they must be fain to seek for war, to the end that they may ever have practised soldiers, and cunning man-slayers, least that (as it is prettily said of Sallust) their hands and their minds through idleness or lack of exercise should wax dull.

But how pernicious and pestilent a thing it is to maintain such beasts, the Frenchmen by their own arms have learned; and the examples of the Romans, Carthaginians, Syrians, and of many other countries, do manifestly declare. For not only the empire, but also the fields and cities of all these, by divers occasions have been over-run and destroyed of their own armies, before hand had in readiness. Now, how unnecessary a thing this is, hereby it may appear: that the French soldiers, which from their youth have been practised and inured in feats of arms, do not crack or advance themselves to

have very often got the upper hand and mastery of your new made and unpractised soldiers. But in this point I will not use many words, least perchance I may seem to flatter you. No, nor those same handy craftmen of yours in cities, nor yet the rude and uplandish ploughmen of the country, are not supposd to be greatly afraid of your gentlemen's idle serving-men, unless it be such as be not of body or stature correspondent to their strength and courage; or else whose bold stomachs be discouraged through poverty. Thus you may see, that it is not to be feared least they should be effeminated, if they were brought up in good crafts and laboursome works, whereby to get their livings, whose stout and sturdy bodies (for gentlemen vouchsafe to corrupt and spoil none but picked and chosen men) now, either by reason of rest and idleness, be brought to weakness: or else by too easy and womanly exercises, be made feeble and unable to endure hardness. Truly howsoever the case standeth, this, me thinketh, is nothing available to the weal-public, for war

sake; which you never have, but when you will yourselves; to keep and maintain an innumerable flock of that sort of men, that be so troublesome and noyous in peace, whereof you ought to have a thousand times more regard than of war. But yet this is not only the necessary cause of stealing. There is another, which, as I suppose, is proper and peculiar to you Englishmen alone." "What is that," quoth the Cardinal? "Forsooth, my Lord" (quoth I) your sheep, that were wont to be so meek and tame, and so small eaters; now, as I hear say, be become so great devourers, and so wild, that they eat up and swallow down the very men themselves. They consume, destroy, and devour whole fields, houses, and cities: for look, in what parts of the realm doth grow the finest, and therefore dearest wool—there, noblemen and gentlemen, yea, and certain abbots, holy men, no doubt, not contenting themselves with the yearly revenues and profits that were wont to grow to their forefathers and predecessors of their lands, nor being content that they live in rest and pleasure, nothing

profiting—yea, much noying the weal-public, leave no ground for tillage: they inclose all into pastures; they throw down houses; they pluck down towns, and leave nothing standing, but only the church to be made a sheep-house.* And, as though you lost no small quantity of ground by forests, chases, lands, and parks, those good holy men turn all dwelling places, and all glebe land, into desolation and wilderness.

Therefore it is, that one covetous and unsatiable cormorant and very plague of his native country, may compass about and inclose many thousand acres of ground together within one pale or hedge: the husbandmen be thrust out of their own, or else

* MORE, in this place, alludes to luxuriancy of *eating* as well as of clothing. "The tables were (at this time) more luxurious and expensive than formerly; distinguished by the variety of delicate viands, as well as by the quantity of substantial fare; and Polydore Virgil (a contemporary) expatiates with visible complacency on the various pleasures of those tables at which he had feasted; on the juicy flavor of the mutton, and the sweetness of the beef, especially when slightly salted, &c." See Dr. Henry Hist. of Great Britain, vol. xii. p. 375.

either by covin and fraud, or violent oppression, they be put besides it; or by wrongs and injuries they be so wearied, that they be compelled to sell all. By one means therefore or by other, either by hook or by crook,* they must needs depart away—poor, silly, wretched souls! men, women, husbands, wives, fatherless children, widows, woeful mothers with their young babes, and the whole household small in substance, and much in number: as husbandry requireth many hands.

Away they trudge, I say, out of their known and accustomed houses, finding no

* "*By hook or crook,*" so in the edition of 1551. Dr. Johnson adds the authorities only of Hudibras and Dryden to his definition of this expression. T. Warton in a note to his *Faery Queen,* combats the assertion that it first occurred as a proverb in Charles the First's time; for he adduces the authorities of Spenser and Skelton. Mr. Todd, whose researches into English literature have been equalled by few of our lexicographers or commentators, tells us that the above expression occurs in B. Riche's *Simonides,* 1584; and in Hawes's *Hist. of La Bel Pucell, &c.* 1554;—but even this latter critic seems not to have been aware of Ralph Robinson's authority. See Todd's Spenser, vol. vi. 39.

place to rest in. All their household stuff, which is very little worth, though it might well abide the sale; yet, being suddenly thrust out, they be constrained to sell it for a thing of nought. And when they have wandered abroad till that be spent, what can they then do but steal, and then justly, *pardy*, be hanged, or else go about a begging? And yet then also they be cast into prison as vagabonds, because they go about and work not: whom no man will set at work, though they never so willingly proffer themselves thereto. For one shepherd or herdsman is enough to eat up that ground with cattle, to the occupying whereof about husbandry many hands were requisite. And this is also the cause why victuals be now in many places dearer.* Yea, besides this, the price of wool is so risen, that poor folks, which were wont to

* The grievance complained of in this article, was at that time complained of justly; and it was at last so severely felt, that the legislature was obliged to interpose with acts of parliament to promote tillage and husbandry, and to prevent the lands in England from being almost all converted into pasture; perhaps we are running now into

work it, and make cloth thereof, be now able to buy none at all. And by this means very many be forced to forsake work, and to give themselves to idleness.

For after that so much ground was inclosed for pasture, an infinite multitude of sheep died of the rot; such vengeance God took of their inordinate and unsatiable covetousness, sending among the sheep that pestiferous murrain, which much more justly should have fallen on the sheep-masters own heads! And though the number of sheep increase never so fast, yet the price falleth not one mite, because there be so few sellers: for they be almost all come into a few rich men's hands, whom no need forceth to

an extreme on the other hand—as in this country we generally do. WARNER.

This observation, by Dr. Warner, was written fifty years ago.—It would be difficult to mention any country, ancient or modern, where husbandry of all kinds is so scientifically understood, and so successfully practised as it is at present *in this country!* The *Agricultural* and *Cattle* Societies, whatever may be the partial feelings of a few individuals, are established on a very wise footing, and have produced extensive good to *all* classes of Society.

sell before they lust, and they lust not before they may sell as dear as they lust. Now the same cause bringeth in like dearth of the other kinds of cattle; yea, and that so much the more, because that, after farms plucked down and husbandry decayed, there is no man that passeth for the breeding of young store: for these rich men bring not up the young ones of great cattle as they do lambs.

*But first they buy them abroad very cheap, and afterward when they be fatted in their pastures, they sell them again exceeding dear. And therefore (as I suppose) the whole incommodity hereof is not yet felt: for yet they make dearth only in those places were they sell. But when they shall fetch them away from thence where they be bred faster than they can be brought up, then shall there also be felt great dearth; store beginning there to fail, where the ware is bought. Thus the unreasonable

* This part of the narrative, disclosing the ancient customs of purchasing of cattle, &c. is extremely interesting. More's Utopia is, in every respect, a very valuable record of some of the prevalent customs of the times when it was written.

covetousness of a few hath turned that thing to the utter undoing of your island, in the which thing the chief felicity of your realm did consist: for this great dearth of victuals causeth men to keep as little houses, and as small hospitality as they possibly may, and to put away their servants—whither, I pray you, but a begging? or else, which these gentle bloods, and stout stomachs will sooner set their minds unto—stealing? Now to amend the matter, to this wretched beggary and miserable poverty, is joined great wantonness, importunate superfluity, and excessive riot: for not only gentlemen's servants, but also handy craftmen, yea, and almost the ploughmen of the country with all other sorts of people, use much strange and proud new-fangles in their apparel*, and

* It would appear from Roger Ascham, that this "strange and proud new-fangled apparel," among the common classes of society, was equally prevalent in the reign of Elizabeth; and that it originated *at court*. "If," says he, "three or foure great ones in courte will nedes outrage in apparell, in huge hose, in monstrous hattes, in gaurishe colours—let the prince proclame, make lawes, order, punishe, commaunde everie gate in London dailie to

too much prodigal riot, and sumptuous fare at their table.

Now bawds, queans*, whores, harlots, strumpets, brothel-houses, stews; and yet another stews, wine-taverns, ale-houses, and tipling-houses†, with so many naughty, lewd, and

be watched; let all good men beside do everie where what they can; surely the misorder of apparell in mean men abrode, shall never be amended except the greatest in courte will order and amend themselves first." *Schoolmaster*, p. 243. Bennet's edit.

* Junius, the Etymologist, was of opinion that this word always signified a *bad woman:* Sibbald, however, in the glossary to his Chronicle of Scotish Poetry, says it has not always that signification. Bishop Percy, in the glossary to the third volume of his *Reliques*, ed. 1794, defines it "sorry *base woman*." Mr. G. Chalmers, whose authority is preferable to either, says, in his glossary to Sir David Lyndsay's Works, vol. iii. 434, that it means "*a wench, a woman;*" from the Saxon, *quen*, *quaen*.

There can be no doubt about the sense in which More and his translators made use of the word. Robinson spells it "qweynes."

†"Tabernæ vinariæ, cervisiaræ:" literally "wine taverns, and ale-house keepers."—If we are to judge from contemporary history, and from the statutes that have been progressively enacted against the vices above complained of, we shall find that they were very serious and general evils;

but the evil of *ale-house keeping*, in particular, has been long known and regretted in this country.

What sort of human beings the *Hosts* were in former days may be seen from numberless instances in Shakspeare—their profligacy seems to have been forgiven, or forgotten, in that species of licentious wit and boisterous mirth in which they loved to indulge, and which appears to have charmed their auditors. The conceit of these fellows was equal to their ignorance and immorality.—" An *Host*," says Sir Thomas Overbury, [two hundred years ago,] " is the kernel of a sign; or the sign is the shell, and mine host is the snail. Hee consists of double beere and fellowship, and his vices are the bawds of his thirst. Hee entertains humbly, and gives his guests power, as well of himself, as house. He answers all men's expectations to his power, save in the reckoning; and hath gotten the trick of greatness to lay all mis-likes upon his servants. His wife is the Cummin-seed of his dove-house, and to be a good guest is a warrant for her liberty. Hee traffiques for guests by men's friends friend's friend, and is sensible onely of his purse. In a word, hee is none of his own; for he neither eats, drinks, or thinkes, but at other men's charges and appointments." Sir Thomas Overbury's Wife, and Characters, edit. 1630; and see note in Preliminary Epistle, p. 14 ante.

In the time of Edward VI. these " *tabernæ vinariæ*" appear to have been admired for their accommodations, and to have brought wealth to their owners. We have been favoured with a description of one, 150 years ago, by the entertaining author of Micro-cosmographie, ed. 1664.

" *A Tavern*,

Is a degree, or (if you will) a paire of stairs above an

alehouse, where men are drunk with more credit and apologie. If the Vintner's nose be at the door, it is a sign sufficient; but the absence of this is supplied by the Ivie-bush. The rooms are ill breathed like the drinkers that have been washed well over night, and are smelt too fasting the next morning. Not furnished with beds apt to be defiled, but with more necessary implements, stools, table, and a chamber pot. It is a broacher of more news than hogsheads, and more jests than news; which are sucked up here by some spungy brain, and from thence squeezed into a comedie. Men come here to make merry, but indeed make a noise, and this music above is answered with the clinking below. The Drawers are the civillest people in it, men of *good bringing up;* and howsoever we esteem of them, none can boast more justly of their *high calling*. It is the best theatre of nature, where the parts are truly acted, not played; and the business, as in the rest of the world, up and down; to wit, from the bottom of the cellar to the great chamber. A melancholy man would find matters to work upon, to see heads as brittle as glasses, and as often broken. Men come hither to quarrel, and come hither to be made friends; and if Plutarch will lend me his simile, it is even *Telephus's* sword that makes wounds and cures them. It is the common consumption of the afternoon, and the murderer, or maker away, of a rainy day. It is the *Torrid Zone* that scorches the face, and tobacco the gunpowder that blows it up. Much harm would be done if the charitable vintner had not water ready for the flames. A house of sin you may call it, but not a house of darkness, for the candles are never out; and it is like those countries farre in the north, where it is as clear at midnight as at

unlawful games; as dice, cards,* tables, tennis, bowls, coyts; † do not all these send the

mid-day. After a long sitting, it becomes like a street in a dashing showre, where the spouts are flushing above, and the conduits running below, while the *Jordans*, like swelling rivers, overflow their banks. To give the totall reckoning of it, it is the busy man's recreation, the idle man's business, the melancholy man's sanctuary, the inn-a-court man's entertainment, the scholar's kindness, and the citizen's courtesie. It is the study of sparkling wits, and a cup of sparkling sherry their book—where we leave them." See p. 62. of this witty and well written little book of "Essayes and Characters."

* "Had our author lived in these days, when gaming is almost the only business of people of fashion, and that not for running cash of the pocket, but for whole patrimonies; when a *majority of the two houses of P——t* have formed themselves into a club—even against the ties of differing parties—to establish it as a science, he might perhaps have seen reason to think that gaming was so far from being a pernicious practice, that it was the only thing which could save a sinking nation from absolute ruin: or else that so considerable a body of men, of such rank, such patriotism, and such political attainments, would not unite in it so openly against the l——s of the land." WARNER.

Are the times now altered? St. James's-street will best resolve this question. Six gaming-houses in one street form no symptoms of the decline of cards, dice, &c.

† We are told, in a nearly contemporary treatise,

haunters of them straight a stealing, when their money is gone? Cast out these per-

written by LEMNIUS, that the principal amusements of the stronger Englishmen, about this time, were "wrestling, *coytinge*, tennis, bowlinge, whorlebattinge, lifting great waightes, pitching the barre, ryding, running, leapinge, shooting in gunnes, swymming, tossing the pike, tyltinge barryers and tourney:" the gentler exercises were "to be caryed in wagons, rowed in boates, singinge and musicall melodie: and if thereto be used a cleare and lowde readinge of bigge tuned soundes by stoppes and certayne pauses, as *our comical fellows now do*, that measure rhetorick by their peevish rhythmes, it will bring exceeding much good to the breast and muscles."

Perhaps the most curious book, descriptive of the manners and customs of the English in these times, is the one called, "Description des Royaulmes d' Anglettere et d'Ecosse. Par. 1558. Reprinted with notes, Lond. 4to. 1775. See Mr. Ellis's Spec. Engl. Poet. vol. 1, p. 332. The following passage, however, from Lemnius, is too amusing to be withheld from the reader.

"The *pavements*," says he, "are sprinkled upon, and floores cooled wyth springing water, and then strewed with sedge, and the parlours trimmed up with greene boughs, freshe herbes or vyne leaves —which thinges no nations do more decently, more trymmely, nor more sightly then they do in Englande. For they [the English] be people very civill and wel-affected to men well stryken in yeares, and to such as beare any countenance and estimation of learninge; therefore, francklye to utter what I thincke of the incredible

nicious abominations; make a law that they which pluck down farms, and towns of husbandry, shall re-edify them, or else yield, and uprender, the possession thereof to such as will go to the cost of building them anew.

curtesie and friendlinesse in speache and affabilitie used in this famous royalme, I muste needes confesse, it doth surmount and carye away the pricke and price of al others. And besyde this, the neate cleanlines, the exquisite finenesse, the pleasaunte and delightfull *furniture* in every point for household, wonderfully rejoyced mee; their chambers and parlours, strawed over with sweet herbes, refreshed me; their nosegayes finelye entermingled wyth sondry sortes of fragraunte floures, in their bedchambers and privie roomes, with comfortable smell cheered mee up, and entierlye delighted all my sences: and this do I think to be the cause y^t^ Englishmen, lyving by such holsome and exquisite *meate*, and in so holesome and exquisite ayre, be so freshe and cleane coloured; their faces, eyes, and countenance, carying with it, and representing, a portly grace and comelynesse, geveth out evident tokens of an honest mind: in *language* very smooth and allective, but yet seasoned and tempered within the limits and bonds of moderation; not bumbasted with any unseemely termes, or inforced with any clawing flatteries or allurements. At their *tables* they be verye sumptuous, and love to have good fare; yet neither use they to overcharge themselves with excesse of drincke, neither thereto greatly provoke and urge others, but suffer every man to drincke in such measure as beste

Suffer not these rich men to buy up all, to ingross, and forestall,* and with their monopoly to keep the market alone as please them.

pleaseth himselfe; which drinck [being eyther ale or beere] most pleasaunt in taste and holesomely relyced, they fetch not from foreine places, but have it amonge themselves brewed!

This account was originally written in Latin by LÆVINUS LEMNIUS,† a foreign physician, on his visit to England in the sixteenth century, and was translated into English by Thomas Newton. 8vo. 1576, under the title of "*The Touchstone of Complexions*," &c. See Mr. Brydges's Censura Literaria, vol. vi. 52. [No. ix. New Series] where there is a still longer extract from the original work. Mr. Haslewood is said to be in possession of the first English edit. of 1576.

* About seven years ago, the subject of forestalling made a great noise in this country: the memorable trial at Worcester did not, however, settle the question, although the forestaller was found guilty. Two of the ablest judges in the land differed in their opinions about the practice; by the one it was called criminal, by the other it was deemed fair, and of course unpunishable.

† LEMNIUS, a celebrated physician, was born in Zealand A. D. 1505, and died about the year 1568. There is an interesting account of him in Foppens's Bibliotheca Belgica, where he is called "Vir in praxi exercitatus, et omnino felix; comis et affabilis omnibus; ægros suos jocis facetiisque, honestis tamen, sæpe non parum recreare ac sublevare solitus. Staturâ mediâ et quadratâ, statu corporis

Let not so many be brought up in idleness; let husbandry and tillage be restored: let cloth-working be renewed, that there may be honest labours for this idle sort to pass their time in profitably, which hitherto either poverty hath caused to be thieves, or else now be either vagabonds, or idle serving-men, and shortly will be thieves. Doubtless, unless you find a remedy for these enormities, you shall in vain advance yourselves of executing justice upon felons: for this justice is more beautiful in appearance, and more flourishing to the shew, than either just or profitable: for by suffering your youth wantonly, and viciously to be brought up, and to be infected, even from their tender age, by little and little with vice; then a God's name to be punished, when they commit the same faults after being come to man's state, which from their youth they were ever like to do — in this point, I pray you, what other thing do you than make thieves, and then punish them?"

incessuque erecto, formâ faciei ac fronte serenâ. Scripsit, (says Foppens,) eleganti ac masculo stilo varia." Vide tom. II. 792. His writings are then enumerated, but the above work seems to have escaped Foppens.

Now, as I was thus speaking, the lawyer began to make himself ready to answer, and was determined with himself to use the common fashion and trade of disputers, which be more diligent in rehearsing, than answering, as thinking the *memory* worthy of the chief praise. "Indeed, Sir (quoth he), you have said well, being but a stranger, and one that might rather hear something of these matters, than have any exact or perfect knowledge of the same — as I will incontinent, by open proof, make manifest and plain. For first I will rehearse in order all that you have said; then I will declare wherein you be deceived, through lack of knowledge, in all our fashions, manners, and customs; and last of all, I will answer your arguments, and confute them every one. First, therefore, I will begin where I promised. Four things, you seemed to me"—Hold your peace (quoth the Cardinal), for it appeareth that you will make no short answer which make such a beginning— Wherefore at this time, you shall not take the pains to make your answer, but keep it to your next meeting, which I would be right

glad that it might be to-morrow next, unless either you, or Master *Raphael*, have earnest let.* But now, Master *Raphael*, I would very gladly hear of you, why you think theft not worthy to be punished with death, or what other punishment you can devise more expedient to the weal-public? For I am sure that you are not of that mind, that you would have theft escape unpunished. For if now the extreme punishment of death cannot cause them to leave stealing, and if ruffians and robbers should be sure of their lives, what violence, what fear, were able to hold their hands from robbing—which would take the mitigation of the punishment, as a very provocation to the mischief?"

"Surely, my lord, I think it not right nor justice, that the loss of money should cause the loss of man's life: for mine opinion is, that all the goods in the world are not able to countervail man's life. But if they would thus

* The old word for *hindrance*—any thing to prevent—it is the common word inserted in law-deeds. The lessee is to enjoy the land or tenement "without any let, suit, or hindrance," &c. from the lessor.

say; that the breaking of justice, and the transgression of laws is recompensed with this punishment, and not the loss of the money, then why may not this extreme and rigorous justice well be called plain injury? For so cruel governance, so strait rules, and unmerciful laws be not allowable, that if a small offence be committed, by and by the sword should be drawn: nor so stoical ordinances are to be born withal, as to count all offences of such equality, that the killing of a man, or the taking of his money from him, were both one matter, and the one no more heinous offence than the other: between the which two, if we have any respect to equity, no similitude or equality consisteth. God commandeth us that we shall not kill. And be we then so hasty to kill a man for taking a little money? And if a man would understand killing by this commandment of God, to be forbidden after no larger wise than man's constitutions define killing to be lawful; then, why may it not likewise by man's constitutions be determined after what sort whoredom, fornication, and perjury may be lawful? For

whereas by the permission of God, no man neither hath power to kill neither himself, nor yet any other man: then if a law made by the consent of men, concerning slaughter of men, ought to be of such strength, force, and virtue, that they which, contrary to the commandment of God, have killed those whom this constitution of man commanded to be killed, be clean quit and exempt out of the bonds and danger of God's commandment? shall it then not by this reason follow, that the power of God's commandment shall extend no further, than man's laws doth define, and permit? And so shall it come to pass, that in like manner, man's constitutions in all things shall determine how far the observation of all God's commandments shall extend. To be short, *Moses*' law, though it were ungentle and sharp, as a law that was given to bondmen, yea, and them very obstinate, stubborn, and stiff-necked—yet it punished theft by the purse, and not with death.

And let us not think that God in the new law of clemency and mercy, under the which he ruleth us with fatherly gentleness, as his

dear children, hath given us greater scope and license to the execution of cruelty, one upon another. Now you have heard the reasons, whereby I am persuaded, that this punishment is unlawful. Furthermore, I think that there is nobody that knoweth not, how unreasonable, yea, how pernicious a thing it is to the weal-public, that a thief and an homicide or murderer should suffer equal and like punishment: for the thief, seeing that man that is condemned for theft in no less jeopardy, nor judged to no less punishment, than him that is convict of manslaughter, through this cogitation only he is strongly and forcibly provoked, and in a manner constrained to kill him, whom else he would have but robbed: for the murder being once done, he is in less fear, and in more hope that the deed shall not be bewrayed or known, seeing the party is now dead, and rid out of the way, which only might have uttered and disclosed it. But if he chance to be taken and descried, yet he is in no more danger and jeopardy than if he had committed but single felony. Therefore, while we go about

with such cruelty to make thieves afraid, we provoke them to kill good men.*

Now as touching this question, what punishment were more commodious and

* "It has long been my opinion, that we presume too much on our power of making laws, and too far infringe on the command of God, by taking away the lives of men in the manner we do in England, for theft and robbery; and that this is not only a pernicious error, for the reason given, but a national abomination. It must be granted, hat all societies have a power within themselves of making laws to secure property, and of annexing punishments to the breach of them: but then on the other hand, it must be owned that no man, or body of men, can have power to make laws which are contrary to the laws of God, or to ordain such punishments for the breach of them as he hath positively forbidden. It is to little purpose to urge, that men may agree to give up their natural rights, for their mutual benefit, and to hold their lives and liberties upon certain terms and conditions, on the breach of which they should be forfeited; because, though this argument will hold with regard to liberty and property, it will not hold with regard to life; of which God alone is the sole disposer, and over which we have no right, in ourselves, or other men. A robber in this country indeed sins with his eyes open, and knows the penalty which he is going to incur; but the wilfulness of the crime is no sort of excuse for making the punishment far exceed the heinousness of the transgression: and who will deny that a little theft or

better—that, truly, in my judgment is easier

robbery—perhaps of the value of two or three shillings only—is not punished infinitely beyond a just proportion, when it is punished with death?

These laws, however, in my opinion, are not more abominable, than they are ill contrived; if this observation, which men versed in affairs make, is true—that the riches of a nation are in proportion to the number of hands employed in works of skill and labour. How many hands of this sort, which might be so employed, in making sails and cordage for the navy, in our fleets or dock-yards, in mending the highways, or converting waste lands into tillage, are sent every sessions to Tyburn for theft and robbery, the reader need not be told. The laws of God affix no other punishment to these crimes than ample restitution, or perpetual slavery; a word of great horror in England, where we boast so highly of our liberty: but it does not require the spirit of prophecy to foresee, that this liberty, which is now in many cases our misery, will some time or other be our destruction. A confinement of this sort to constant labour for the public—whatever name we give it—would be dreaded worse than death by these wretches, who have no idea of a future state; and consequently deter them more from the commission of such crimes, which is the only reasonable end of punishment in a state." WARNER.

These reasons appear to be very solid and satisfactory: not that I would hence infer we are to follow the example of our old German ancestors; who, according to

to be found than what punishment might be

Montesquieu, "admitted of none but *pecuniary punishments*," b. vi. c. xviii. although we are told by the same authority that " in countries remarkable for *the lenity* of their laws, the spirit of the inhabitants is as much affected by *slight penalties*, as in other countries by *severer punishments*." b. ii. c. xii.

" Punishment," says Grotius, "in its general acception" is, " malum passionis quod infligitur ob malum actionis—the " the evil that we suffer for the evil that we do." " It is therefore, says the wise and humane Blackstone, the enormity, and dangerous tendency of the crime that alone can warrant any earthly legislature in putting him to *death* who commits it. It is not its frequency only, or the difficulty of otherwise preventing it, that will excuse our attempting to prevent it by a *wanton effusion of human blood.* For though the end of punishment is to deter men from offending, it can never follow from thence, that it is lawful to deter them at any rate and by any means; since there may be unlawful methods of enforcing obedience even to the justest laws. Every humane legislature will be therefore extremely cautious of establishing laws that inflict the penalty of death, especially for slight offences, or such as are merely furtive." *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, book iv. ch. i. edit. 1787. But the whole chapter, which is short, is well deserving of serious perusal.

" An house of correction," says Grotius, " strikes more terror into an idle rogue, than the gallows; and to be chained to an oar, than death itself." *De Jure Bell. et Pac.* l. ii. c. xx.

worse. For why should we doubt that to be a good and a profitable way for the punishment of offenders, which we know did in times past so long please the Romans, men in the administration of a weal-public most expert, politic and cunning? Such as among them were convict of great and heinous trespasses, them they condemn into stone quarries, and into mines to dig metal, there to be kept in chains all the days of their life. But as concerning this matter, I allow the ordinance of no nation so well as that which I saw, whilst I travelled abroad about the world, used in Persia, among the people that commonly be called the *Polylerites;* whose land is both large and ample, and also well and wittily governed; and the people in all conditions free, and ruled by their own laws, saving that they pay a yearly tribute to the great king of Persia.

But because they be far from the sea, compassed and inclosed, almost round about, with high mountains, they do content themselves with the fruits of their own land, which is of itself very fair and fertile: for this cause they go not to other coun-

tries, nor do other come to them. And according to the old custom of the land, they desire not to enlarge the bounds of their dominions: and those that they have, by reason of the high hills, be easily defended: and the tribute which they pay to their chief lord and king, setteth them quit and free from warfare. Thus their life is commodious rather than gallant, and may better be called happy or wealthy, than notable and famous: for they be not known as much as by name, I suppose, saving only to their next neighbours and borders. They that in this land be attainted and convict of felony, make restitution of that which they stole to the right owner: and not (as they do in other lands) to the king: whom they think to have no more right to the thief-stolen thing, than the thief himself hath. But if the thing be lost or made away, then the value of it is paid of the goods of such offenders, which else remaineth all whole to their wives and children. And they themselves be condemned to be common labourers; and if the theft be not very heinous, they be

neither locked in prison, nor fettered in gyves,* but be united, and go at large, labouring in the common works. They that refuse labour, or go slowly or slack to their work, be not only tied in chains, but also pricked forward with stripes. But being diligent about their work, they live without check or rebuke. Every night they be called in by name, and be locked in their chambers. Beside their daily labour, their life is nothing hard or incommodious; their fare is indifferent good, borne at the charge of the weal-public; because they be common servants to the common-wealth. But their charges in all places in the land is not borne alike; for, in some parts, that which is bestowed upon them is gathered of alms, and though that way be uncertain, yet the people be so full of mercy and pity, that none is found more profitable or plentiful. In some places certain lands be appointed hereunto, of the revenues whereof they be maintained.

* Fetters for the legs—"The villains," says Falstaff of his recruits, "march wide *betwixt the legs*, as if they had *gyves* on."

And in some places every man giveth a certain tribute for the same use and purpose.

Again, in some part of the land these serving-men (for so be these damned* persons called) do no common work; but as every private man needeth labours, so he cometh into the market-place, and there hireth some of them for meat and drink, and certain limited wages by the day, somewhat cheaper than he should hire a freeman. It is also lawful for them to chastise the sloth of these serving-men with stripes. By these means they never lack work; and besides the gaining of their meat and drink, every one of them bringeth daily something into the common treasury. All and every one of them be apparelled in one colour. Their heads be not polled or shaven, but rounded a little above the ears; and the tip of one ear is cut off. Every one of them may take meat and drink of their friends, and also a coat of their own colour; but to receive money is death, as well to the giver as to the

* i. e. *condemned*. The word "damnation" is yet used in our Liturgy (Communion-service) for "condemnation."

receiver. And no less jeopardy it is for a free-man to receive money of a serving-man for any manner of cause; and likewise for serving-men to touch weapons. The serving-men of every several shire be distinct and known from other, by their several and distinct badges; which, to cast away, is death: as it is also to be seen out of the precinct of their own shire; or to talk with a serving-man of another shire. And it is no less danger to them, for to intend to run away, than to do it in deed. Yea, and to conceal such an enterprize in a serving-man, it is death; in a free-man, servitude. Of the contrary part, to him that openeth and uttereth such counsels, be decreed large gifts: to a free-man, a great sum of money; to a serving-man, freedom: and, to them both, forgiveness and pardon of that they were of counsel in that pretence. So that it can never be so good for them to go forward in their evil purpose, as by repentance to turn back. This is the law and order in this behalf, as I have shewed you: wherein what humanity is used, how far it is from cruelty, and how

commodious it is, you do plainly perceive. For as much as the end of their wrath and punishment intendeth nothing else but the destruction of vices and saving of men: with so using and ordering them, that they cannot choose but be good; and what harm soever they did before, in the residue of their life, to make amends for the same.

Moreover, it is so little feared that they should turn again to their vicious conditions, that wayfaring men will for their safeguard choose them to be their guides before any other, in every shire changing and taking new: for if they would commit robbery, they have nothing about them meet for that purpose. They may touch no weapons: money found about them should betray the robbery. They should be no sooner taken with the manner, but forthwith they should be punished. Neither can they have any hope at all to escape away by flying: for how should a man, that in no part of his apparel is like other men, fly privily and unknown, unless he would run away naked? Howbeit, so also flying, he should be des-

cried by the rounding of his head, and his ear-mark. But it is a thing to be doubted, that they will lay their heads together, and conspire against the weal-public. No, no, I warrant you: for the serving-men of one shire alone could never hope to bring to pass such an enterprize, without soliciting, enticing, and alluring the serving-men of many other shires to take their parts. Which thing is to them so impossible, that they may not as much as speak or talk together, or salute one another. No, it is not to be thought that they would make their own countrymen and companions of their counsel in such a matter, which they know well should be jeopardy to the concealor thereof, and great commodity and goodness to the opener and detector of the same. Whereas, on the other part, there is none of them at all hopeless, or in despair to recover again his former estate of freedom, by humble obedience, by patient suffering, and by giving good tokens and likelihood of himself, that he will ever after that, live like a true and an honest man. For every year

divers of them be restored to their freedom, through the commendation of patience."

When I had thus spoken, saying moreover, that I could see no cause why this order might not be had in *England*, with much more profit, than the justice which the lawyer so highly praised. "Nay (quoth the lawyer), this could never be so established in *England*, but that it must needs bring the weal-public into great jeopardy and hazard." And as he was thus saying, he shaked his head, and made a wry mouth, and so he held his peace. And all that were present with one assent agreed to his saying. "Well (quoth the Cardinal,) "yet it were hard to judge without a proof, whether this order would do well here or no. But when the sentence of death is given, if then the king should command execution to be referred and spared, and would prove this order and fashion, taking away the privilege of sanctuaries: if then the proof should declare the thing to be good and profitable, then it were well done that it were established: else, then condemned and reprieved

persons may as well be put to death after this proof, as when they were first cast. Neither any jeopardy can in the mean space grow hereof. Yea, and me thinketh that these vagabonds may very well be ordered after the same fashion, against whom we have hitherto made so many laws, and so little prevailed." When the Cardinal had thus said, then every man gave great praise to my sayings which, a little before, they had disallowed. But most of all was that esteemed which was spoken of vagabonds, because it was the Cardinal's addition.*

I cannot tell whether it were best to rehearse the communication that followed; for it was very strange. But yet you shall hear it, for there was no evil in it, and partly

* "It is impossible for a man to have lived much in the world, and not to see the justness of this satire. It is as old as the days of Solomon; and it is probable it will never be extinguished, whilst mankind have the same passions of avarice and ambition; and find that flattery and obsequiousness are the most likely means to procure their gratification.—As to the observation itself, it is as true now as it was then; that, notwithstanding all our laws, we have not been able to attain our end against vagabonds; and they

it pertained to the matter before said. There chanced to stand by a certain jesting parasite or scoffer, which would seem to resemble and counterfeit the *Fool.** But he

still continue to be a grievous nuisance, as well in the streets of London, as on the road. WARNER.

Dr. Warner's remark still holds good, although it was written fifty years ago. In spite of our *Houses of Industry*, and *Parish Schools*, beggary, idleness, and profligacy are yet very abundant—but let us "hope better things." We are still in an improved condition compared with Spain; where the traveller is sure to find, at every resting-place on the road, a swarm of mendicants who assail his ears with piteous acclamations—themselves covered with filth, and devoured by disease!

* "The reader need not be told, I suppose, that it was the custom in England formerly for all men of fashion and fortune to keep a servant in their families, under the name and appearance of a fool.† This fictitious conversation between the friar and the Archbishop's fool, in which the ill behaviour and the great ignorance of the former is so

† More himself kept his fool. On the resignation of the chancellorship, "his foole PATISON he gaue to the Lo. Mayor of London, upon this condition, that he should everie yeare wayte upon him, that should haue that office." Great Grandson's Life of More, 4to. ed. 246.

FOOLS seem to have acted very important parts both in private houses, and on the stage, during the sixteenth century. I need not remind the reader what a prominent

did in such wise counterfeit, that he was almost the very same indeed that he laboured to present: he so studied with words and

much exposed, were in those times so indecent and offensive, that in an edition of Sir Thomas More's works, published at Louvain in 1566, this whole passage is left out. It shews us however the contempt which the author had for these people in that superstitious age; and that he had sagacity enough to discern, through all the prejudices of education, that they were a public nuisance." WARNER.

feature they make in the dramatic productions of our immortal SHAKSPEARE. "Shakspeare's fools are certainly copied from *life*. The originals whom he copied were no doubt men of quick parts; lively and sarcastick. Though they were licensed to say any thing, it was still necessary, to prevent giving offence, that every thing they said should have a playful air: we may suppose therefore that they had a custom of taking off the edge of too sharp a speech by covering it hastily with the end of an old song, or any glib nonsense that came to the mind. I know no other way of accounting for the incoherent words with which Shakspeare often finishes his fools' speeches." Sir Joshua Reynolds; cited in the edit. of Shaksp. 1803. vol. xvii. 365. Consult the entire note, which is curious enough; though a great deal more might have been said on the "Origin, prevalence, and decline of fools" in the capacity above alluded to.

As an illustration of the *person* of the fool, in the reign of Henry VIII. when More wrote his Utopia, the curious reader should view an original picture of Henry and his family, with a fool, and an ape on his back—hanging up in the great room of the Society of Antiquaries, at Somerset House, which was presented by his Majesty.

sayings, brought forth so out of time and place, to make sport and more laughter, that he himself was oftener laughed at than his jests were. Yet the foolish fellow brought out now and then such indifferent and reasonable stuff, that he made the proverb true, which saith, "*He that shooteth oft, at the last shall hit the mark:*" so that when one of the company said, that through my communication, a good order was found for thieves, and that the Cardinal also had well provided for vagabonds—so that there only remained some good provision to be made for them that, through sickness and age, were fallen into poverty, and were become so impotent and unwieldy, that they were not able to work for their living—"Tush," (quoth he), "let me alone with them: you shall see me do well enough with them. For I had rather than any good, that this kind of people were driven somewhere out of my sight; they have so sore troubled me many times and oft, when they have with their lamentable tears begged money of me: and yet they could never to my mind so

tune their song, that thereby they ever got of me one farthing. For evermore the one of these chanced—either that I would not, or else that I could not, because I had it not. Therefore now they be waxed wise: for when they see me go by, because they will not lose their labour, they let me pass and say not one word to me. So they look for nothing of me; no, in good sooth, no more than if I were a priest or a monk! But I will make a law that all these beggars shall be distributed and bestowed into houses of religion. The men shall be made lay-brethren, as they call them—and the women nuns." Hereat the Cardinal smiled, and allowed it in jest, yea, and all the residue in good earnest.

But a certain friar, graduate in divinity, took such pleasure and delight in these jests of priests and monks, that he also (being else a man of grisly and stern gravity) began merrily and wantonly to jest and taunt. "Nay," (quoth he), "you shall not be so rid and dispatched of beggars, unless you make some provision also for us friars."—

"Why," (quoth the jester), "that is done already, for my lord himself set a very good order for you, when he decreed, that vagabonds should be kept straight and set to work: for you be the greatest and veriest vagabonds that be."* This jest also, when they saw the Cardinal not disprove it, every man took it gladly, saving only the friar: for he (and that no marvel) being thus touched on the quick, and hit on the gall, so fretted, so fumed, and chafed at it, and was in such a rage, that he could not refrain himself from chiding, scolding, railing, and reviling. He called the fellow ribbald, villain, javel,† backbiter, slanderer,

* If there is one part of the Utopia more than another, which seems to satyrise the Romish church, it is this—where the priests are so severely handled by the jester, or fool: but it appears strange, and rather inconsistent with the usual delicacy and gratitude observed by MORE towards his benefactors, that he should have *this end* in view, when he introduces the discourse at the table of the Cardinal, who was a *Catholic*, and his best friend! It must, however, here be noted, that the above passage occurs in all the *separate* editions of the Utopia.

† *A dirty fellow: a vagrant.*

and the child of perdition, citing therewith terrible threatenings out of Holy Scripture. Then the jesting scoffer began to play the scoffer indeed, and verily he was good at that; for he could play a part in that play, no man better. "Patient yourself, good master friar (quoth he), and be not angry; for Scripture saith: In your patience you shall save your souls." Then the friar, (for I will rehearse his own very words:) "No, gallows wretch, I am not angry (quoth he), or at the least wise I do not sin, for the Psalmist saith, "Be you angry and sin not."

Then the Cardinal spake gently to the friar, and desired him to quiet himself. No my Lord, (quoth he), I speak not but of a good zeal, as I ought, for holy men had a good zeal: wherefore it is said, "The zeal of thy house hath eaten me." And it is sung in church, "The scorners of *Hilizeus*,* whiles he went up into the house of God, felt the zeal of the bald, as peradventure, this scorning villain ribbald shall

* *Elisha.*

feel." "You do it (quoth the Cardinal), perchance of a good mind and affection: but me thinketh you should do, I cannot tell whether more holily, certes more wisely, if you would not set your wit to a fool's wit, and with a fool take in hand a foolish contention." "No, forsooth, my lord (quoth he), I should not do more wisely; for *Solomon* the wise saith, "Answer a fool according to his folly, like as I do now, and do shew him the pit that he shall fall into, if he take not heed: for if many scorners of *Helizeus*, which was but one bald man, felt the zeal of the bald, how much more shall one scorner of many friars feel, among whom be many bald men? And we have also the Pope's bulls, whereby all that mock and scorn us be excommunicated, suspended, and accursed." *The Cardinal seeing no end would be made, sent away the jester by a

* "Cardinalis, ubi vidit nullum fieri finem, nutu ablegato parasito, ac aliam in rem commodùm verso sermone, paulo post surgit e mensa, atque audiendis clientum negotiis dedit se, nosque dimisit." "When the Cardinal saw that there was no end of this matter, he made a sign to the fool to

privy beck, and turned the communication to another matter. Shortly after, when he was risen from the table, he went to hear his suitors, and so dismissed us.*

withdraw, turned the discourse another way, and soon after rose from the table, and dismissing us, went to hear causes." So Burnet and Warner; but inelegantly: "turned the discourse another way," is a vulgar anglicism. It should have been, "gave a different turn (or direction) to the discourse." "Le Cardinal, voïant que cela ne finiroit point, fit signe a l'ecornifleur de se retirer, et changea prudemment le sujet de la conversation. Peu de tems après, s'étant levé de table pour donner audience à ses vassaux, il nous congedia"—French translation, 1730; which is elegant, and sufficiently close.

* Here ends the conversation at the Cardinal's table: the remainder of this first book is devoted to the observations of More and Hythloday upon it.

Burnet and Warner continue in the following manner: "Thus, Mr. More, I have run out into a tedious story, &c." which has rather a ludicrous air, "Master More" has something in it more respectable" "J'ai enfin achevé, mon cher Morus, cette longue narration"—says the French translation, which is polite enough. The original is brief but expressive.—"En, mi More, quàm longo te sermone oneravi." "Mr. More" sounds as bad as Mr. Shakspeare, or Mr. Milton.

Look, Master MORE, with how long and tedious a tale I have kept you, which surely I would have been ashamed to have done, but that you so earnestly desired me, and did after such a sort give ear unto it, as though you would not that any parcel of that communication should be left out. Which though I have done somewhat briefly, yet could I not choose but rehearse it, for the judgment of them, who, when they had improved and disallowed my sayings, yet incontinent hearing the Cardinal allow them, did themselves also approve the same: so impudently flattering him, that they were nothing ashamed to admit, yea, almost in good earnest, his jester's foolish inventions; because that he himself, by smiling at them, did seem not to disprove them! So that hereby you may right-well perceive how little the courtiers would regard and esteem me and my sayings.

"I ensure you, Master *Raphael* (quoth I), I took great delectation in hearing you: all things that you said, were spoken so wittily and so pleasantly. And methought me self to be in the mean time, not only at home in

my country, but also, through the pleasant remembrance of the Cardinal, inwhose house I wasbroughtup of a child, to wax a child again. And, friend *Raphael*, though I did bear very great love towards you before, yet seeing you do so earnestly favour this man, you will not believe how much my love towards you is now increased. But yet, all this notwitstanding, I can by no means change my mind, but that I must needs believe, that you, if you be disposed, and can find in your heart to follow some prince's court,* shall with your

* "If you could overcome that aversion which you have to the courts of princes," in Burnet and Warner.

It was very much the fashion in MORE's time, but particularly towards the middle and conclusion of the sixteenth century, to reprobate the extravagances of court, and the vices of *Courtiers*. I have understood that among the severest works which treat on this subject, (although Roy's Satire upon Cardinal Wolsey has never perhaps been exceeded in satirical severity,) there is a small book written by one Peter Boiastuau, a Frenchman, called "*The Politike Glasse*," and printed about the year 1560. This I have never seen; but in another work, by the same writer, the vices of courtiers are thus severely lashed. "Many in the court, says he, pull off their caps to thee, that would be glad to see thy head from thy shoulders;

good counsels greatly help and further the common-wealth. Wherefore there is nothing

such bowe their knee to doe thee reverence, which woulde that they had broken their leg to carry thee to thy grave. There is always I know not what, nor I know not how, nor I understand not who is the cause, that, incessantly one complayneth, another murmureth, altereth, and some despiseth. In the court, if thou wilt be an adulterer, thou shalt find of thy accomplices; if thou wilt quarrel, thou shalt find with whom; if thou wilt lye, thou shalt find those that will approve thy lyes; if thou wilt steale, thou shalte finde them that will shew thee a thousand wayes how; if thou wilt be a carder or dicer, thou shalt finde them that wilt cog and playe with thee; if thou wilt sweare and beare false witnesse, thou shalt finde there thy like; to be short, if thou wilt give thyselfe to all kinds of wickednesse and vices, thou shalt finde there the very example givers. Heere may yousee the life of a great number of my masters, the *courtiers*, which is no life but a lingering death. Here you may see wherein their youth is employed, which is no youth, but a transitory death. When that they come to age, knowest thou what they bring from thence: their graye heades, their feete full of goutes, their mouth toothlesse, their backe full of paine, their hearts full of sorrowes and thoughtes, and their soule filled with sin." We are then referred by the author to the treatises of Guevara and Æneas Silvius—"wherein (says he) they have painted my masters, the *courtiers*, so in their colours, that they have cut off the hope of adding, in those that will discover

more appertaining to your duty, that is to say to the duty of a good man. For whereas your *Plato* judgeth that weal-publics shall by this means attain perfect felicity, either if philosophers be kings, or else if kings give themselves to the study of philosopy; how far, I pray you, shall common-wealths then be from this felicity, if philosophers will vouchsafe to instruct kings with their good counsel? "They be not so unkind (quoth he), but they would gladly do it; yea, many have done it already in books that they have put forth, if kings and princes would be willing and ready to follow good counsel.

But *Plato* doubtless did well foresee, unless kings themselves would apply their minds to the study of philosophy, that else they

any thing after them." See a very curious and rare little book, called, "*The Theatre or Rule of the World*, &c. translated by John Alday from the Latin and French original of Boiastuau." Printed in black letter, by Thomas East for John Wight, 1581. In the second book of the Utopia, I shall have occasion to notice it more particularly.

An Englishman, who reads the foregoing account, must congratulate his own country that the court of GEORGE III. differs, in so many material points of description, from the

would never thoroughly allow the counsel of philosophers, being themselves before, even from their tender age, infected, and corrupt with perverse and evil opinions, which thing *Plato* himself proved true in King *Dionysius*. If I should propose to any king wholesome decrees, doing my endeavour to pluck out of his mind the pernicious original causes of vice and naughtiness, think you not that I should forthwith either be driven away, or else made a laughing-stock? Well, suppose I were with the *French** king, and there sitting in his council; while in that

narrative of Boiastuau. So justly has More remarked (at p. 41. ante), that "from THE HEAD, as from a perpetual well-spring, cometh among the people the flood of all that is good or evil."

* The immediately following passages have been considered as a representation of the sentiments of More on the then state of European politics, or rather, as a sort of representation of *facts*.

The whole is very curious; in the first place, it shews at what period More was engaged in writing the Utopia; and next, how intimately he was acquainted with the views of the French king, as well as of the other European states: it is also curious from its similarity to the relation of the events here alluded to by a contemporary

most secret consultation, the king himself there being present in his own person, they beat their brains, and search the very bottoms of their wits, to discuss by what craft and means the king may still keep *Milan*,* and draw to him again fugitive *Naples:* and then how to conquer the *Venetians*, and how to bring under his jurisdiction all *Italy;* then how to win the dominion of *Flanders Brabant* and all *Burgundy;* with divers other lands, whose kingdoms he hath long ago in mind and purpose invaded. Here, while one counselleth to conclude a league of peace with the *Venetians*, so long to endure as shall be thought meet and expedient for their purpose, and to make them also of their council; yea and besides that, to give them part of the prey, which afterward, when they have

writer, Guicciardini, in his "*Storia d' Italia,*" lib. 12. sub. an. 1513; where all the circumstances mentioned by More are to be found, and, in one or two instances, in nearly corresponding terms.

* The retention of Milan was a favourite political scheme, or hobby-horse, with FRANCIS I.: but at the battle of Pavia he lost it, and every thing—"but his honour."

brought their purpose about, after their own minds, they may require and claim again—another thinketh best to hire the *Germans:* another would have the favour of the *Switzers* won with money: another's advice is, to appease the puissant power of the Emperor's majesty with gold, as with a most pleasant and acceptable sacrifice: while another giveth counsel to make peace with the king of *Arragon*, and to restore unto him his own kingdom of *Navarre*, as a full assurance of peace; another cometh in with his five eggs,* and adviseth to hook in the king of *Castile*, with some hope of affinity, or alliance; and to bring to their part certain peers of his court, for great pensions.

While they all stay at the chiefest doubt of all, what to do in the mean time with *England;* and yet agree all in this, to make with the *Englishmen*—and with most sure and strong bonds to bind that weak and feeble

* So the first translation of Robinson has it; but "coming in with the five eggs" is gratuitous; no such expression being in the original Latin, or in any modern translation. The above has probably some allusion to a custom which then prevailed, but which cannot now be ascertained,—whether,

friendship, so that they must be called friends, and had in suspicion as enemies. And that therefore the *Scots* must be had in readiness, as it were in a standing, ready at all occasions (in case the *Englishmen* should stir never so little) incontinent to set upon them. And moreover, privily and secretly (for openly it may not be done, by the truce that is taken;) privily therefore, I say, to make much of some peer * of *England*, that is banished his country, which must claim title to the crown of the realm, and affirm himself

substituting "eggs" for "money" [See a curious note on this subject in the edit. of Shakspear 1803. vol. ix. 230. Winter's Tale, act 1, sc. 2.] it would infer the offering of a *paltry subsidy* or *bribe*.

* There cannot be a doubt, I think, but that More here alludes to Richard de la Pole, fifth son of John de la Pole Duke of Suffolk, by Elizabeth, sister of Edward IV. Among other reasons urged by Wolsey to induce Henry to invade France, one was that Francis had broken the treaty by favouring this nobleman, a "fugitive and a traitor." Guicciardini calls him *Duke;* his words on this occasion are,—"Haveva il Re [di Francia], per insospettire delle proprie cose il Re d' Inghilterra, chiamato in Francia il Duca di Suffolch, *come competitore a quel regno*." (La Hist. d' Ital. cap. 12. fol. ed. 1561.)

just inheritor thereof: that by this subtle means they may hold to them the king, in whom else they have but small trust and affiance.

Here, I say, where so great and high matters be in consultation, where so many noble and wise men counsel their king only to war: here if I, silly man, should rise up, and will them to turn over the leaf, and learn a new lesson, saying, that my counsel is not to meddle with Italy, but to tarry still at home; and that the kingdom of France* alone is almost greater than that it may well be governed of one man; so that the king should not need to study how to get more: and then should propose unto them the decrees of the people that be called the *Achoreins*, which be situate over against the island of Utopia, on the south-east side.——

[These *Achoreins* once made war, in their king's quarrel, for to get him another kingdom which he laid claim unto, and advanced

* What would have been More's sentiments of the extent and power of France as she *now* exists

himself right inheritor to the crown thereof, by the title of an old alliance. At the last, when they had gotten it, and saw that they had even as much vexation and trouble in keeping it, as they had in getting it; and that either their new conquered subjects by sundry occasions were making daily insurrections to rebel against them, or else that other countries were continually with divers inroads and foragings invading them; so that they were ever fighting, either for them or against them, and never could break up their camps: seeing themselves in the mean season pilfered and impoverished, their money carried out of the realm, their own men killed, to maintain the glory of another nation: when they had no war, peace was nothing better than war, by reason that their people in war had so inured themselves to corrupt and wicked manners, that they had taken a delight and pleasure in robbing and stealing; that through manslaughter, they had gathered boldness to mischief; that their laws were had in contempt, and nothing set by or regarded; that their king being

troubled with the charge and governance of two kingdoms, could not, nor was not able perfectly to discharge his office toward them both: seeing again, that all these evils and troubles were endless—at the last, they laid their heads together, and like faithful and loving subjects gave to their king free choice and liberty to keep still the one of these two kingdoms, whether he would; alledging that he was not able to keep both, and that they were more than might well be governed of half a king, for as much as no man would be content to take him for his muleteer, that keepeth another man's mules besides his. So this good prince was constrained to be content with his old kingdom, and to give over the new to one of his friends, who shortly after was violently driven out.]

Furthermore, if I should declare unto them, that all this busy preparance to war, whereby so many nations for his sake should be brought into a troublesome hurly-burly*,

* "Quibus tot nationes ejus causa tumultuarentur;" "troublesom HURLEY-BURLEY," as Robinson's transla-

when all his coffers were emptied, his treasures wasted, and his people destroyed—should at the length, through some mischance, be in vain, and to none effect; and that therefore it were best for him to content himself with his own kingdom of *France*, as his forefathers and predecessors did before him; to make much of it, to enrich it, and to make it as flourishing as he could; to endeavour himself to love his subjects, and again to be beloved of

tion has it. The editor of the last edition of Shakspeare, 1803, vol. x. 13. quotes Henderson's extract from Peacham's *Garden of Eloquence*, 1577, in which this English expression is supposed to have first occurred: Mr. Todd, in his edition of Spenser, vol. vi. 70. (note,) seems to think (quere how correctly?) the expression may have been a *Scotish* one; and he cites "*Adagia Scotica*, or a collection of Scotch Proverbs, &c." Lond. 12mo. 1668; "a book," says he, "published indeed long after Shakespeare's time, but containing probably many *old saws*." It is not necessary to give Mr. Todd's extract, which very satisfactorily explains this expression as used by Shakspeare's *Scotish hag* in Macbeth —it may be only worth while here to observe, that, Robinson's adoption of the term has escaped our lexicographers and commentators, and that the word was *published* twenty-six years before it appeared in Peacham. Dr. Johnson refers only to Shakspeare and Knolles.

them; willingly to live with them peaceably to govern them, and with other kingdoms not to meddle, seeing that which he hath already is even enough for him, yea, and more than he can well turn him to.

This mine advice, Master MORE, how think you, would it not be hardly taken? "So God help me, not very thankfully (quoth I). "Well let us proceed then (quoth he). Suppose that some king and his counsel were together, whetting their wits, and devising what subtle craft they might invent to enrich the king with great treasures of money.

First, one counselleth to raise and enhance the valuation of money, when the king must pay any;* and again to call down the value

* If the Utopia had ever been translated into Arabic or Persian, one might have said that the late Tippoo Sultan had profited by the first part of this advice:—It was a common practice with him, when about to pay the arrears of his troops, to raise the standard value of the coin to a high rate, which continued about ten days—during this time the soldiers had liberty to pay off their debts, at the enhanced rate. See Dr. Buchanan's Journal of a Journey from Madras, &c. vol. i. p. 129.

of coin to less than it is worth, when he must receive or gather any: for thus, great sums shall be paid with a little money; and where little is due, much shall be received.

Another counselleth to fain war: that when, under this colour and pretence, the king hath gathered great abundance of money, he may, when it shall please him, make peace with great solemnity, and holy ceremonies, to blind the eyes of the poor community; as taking pity and compassion, forsooth, upon man's blood, like a loving and a merciful prince!

Another putteth the king in remembrance of certain old and moth-eaten * laws, that of long time have not been put in execution, which, because no man can remember that they were made, every man hath transgressed.

* "Antiquas quasdam et tineis adesas leges": "some old musty laws, that have been antiquated by a long disuse." So Burnet and Warner; but more verbose and paraphrastic than the above. There is a fine allusion, in the reply of Lord Strafford, to the folly and wickedness of enforcing "old and moth-eaten laws:" that nobleman exclaimed,

The fines of these laws he counselleth the king to require; for there is no way so profitable, nor more honourable, as that which hath a shew and colour of justice.

Another adviseth him to forbid many things under great penalties and fines, especially such things as is for the people's profit not to be used; and afterward to dispense for money with them which by this prohibition sustain loss and damage; for by this means the favour of the people is won, and profit riseth two ways: first, by taking forfeits of them, whom covetousness of gains hath brought in danger of this statute; and also by selling privileges and licenses, which, the better that the prince is, forsooth, the dearer he selleth them; as one that is loath to grant to any private person any thing that is against the profit of his people;

when his prosecutors alleged against him certain evidence, supported by ancient laws of which he was entirely ignorant—"Let us not, my Lords, awake those sleeping lions, by rattling up a company of old records, which have lain for so many ages by the wall, forgotten and neglected!"—Hume's History of England.

and therefore may set none but at an exceeding dear price.

Another giveth the king counsel to endanger unto his grace the judges of the realm, that he may ever have them on his side, and that they may, in every matter, dispute and reason for the king's right. Yea, and further to call them into his palace, and to require them there to argue and discuss his matters in his own presence: so there shall be no matter of his so openly wrong and unjust, wherein one or other of them—either because he will have something to allege and object, or that he is ashamed to say that which is said already, or else to * pick a thank with his prince—will not find some

* So the first English translation. "To pick a thank," is, I suppose, the same kind of idiom as "to pick a quarrel"—to choose, to select—to obtain one. Burnet translates it "to make their court." In the original, it is "gratiam ineant."

The meaning of the substantive "*a pick-thank*" is, an officious person who endeavours to ingratiate himself with, or obtain the notice of, any one, by the performance of unasked favours or offices—in short, *a busy-body*. It is yet in common use in some of the more northern counties.

hole open to set a snare in, wherewith to take the contrary part in a trip.

Thus while the judges cannot agree amongst themselves, reasoning and arguing of that which is plain enough, and bringing the manifest truth in doubt; in the mean season, the king may take a fit occasion to understand the law as shall most make for his advantage, whereunto all other, for shame, or for fear, will agree. Then the judges may be bold to pronounce on the king's side: for he that giveth sentence for the king, cannot be without a good excuse. For it shall be sufficient for him to have equity on his part, or the bare words of the law, or a writhen* and wrested understanding of the same (or else, which with good and just judges is of greater force than all laws be) the king's indisputable prerogative. To conclude, all the counsellors agree and consent together with the rich *Crassus*, that no abundance of gold can be sufficient for a prince, which must keep and maintain an army: furthermore that

* *Distorted—twisted together:* from the verb to writhe. The above word is used by Chaucer in his "Flower and Leaf," v. 57.

a king, though he would, can do nothing unjustly.*

For all that men have, yea, also the men themselves, be all his. And that every man hath so much of his own as the king's gentleness hath not taken from him. And that it shall be most for the king's advantage, that his subjects have very little or nothing in their possession,† as whose safeguard doth

* Every body knows it is a maxim in our law that "the *King* can do no wrong." His *Ministers* only are supposed to be culpable for the bad advice given to their monarch. Old Plowden tells us that "the prerogative of the Crown extends not to do any injury; it is created for the benefit of the people, and therefore cannot be exerted to their prejudice," p. 487, quoted by Blackstone, book 1. ch. 7.

† "It is impossible for any one to have read the history of Henry VII. and not to see that this representation of the advice of ministers, is levelled at the infamous measures of getting money from the subject, which were pursued in that reign. At the same time that the author shewed his abhorrence of those unjust and arbitrary impositions, he gave an evident proof of his own capacity to assist in the cabinets of princes, by the counsels which he proposes of another sort immediately after. When the reader is told that HENRY left near two millions sterling in his vaults at Richmond when he died, there will be no occasion to add the injustice he did the nation, nor the miseries he brought upon them by

herein consist, that his people do not wax wanton and wealthy through riches and liberty; because where these things be, there, men be not wont patiently to obey hard, unjust, and unlawful commandments. Whereas, on the other part, need and poverty doth hold down and keep under stout * courages, and maketh them patient perforce, taking from them bold and rebelling stomachs.

Here again if I should rise up, and boldly

this injustice, in draining them of their wealth, and then locking it up from circulating in commerce, in his own coffers." WARNER.

* This is the keenest part of More's satire against Henry VII, whose avarice was as insatiable—as his means of gratifying it were base and revengeful. Our author had not forgotten the treatment which his father Sir JOHN MORE experienced. The story is thus related by Hoddesdon. "In the latter end of king Henry VII. his reign a parliament was called; wherein Sir Thomas More, ere ever he had read in court, was chosen burgess: there was then demanded by the king. one subsidy and three fifteenths for the marriage of his eldest daughter, the Lady Margaret, that then should be (as indeed she was shortly after) the Queen of Scots; when the consent of the lower house was demanded to these impositions, most of the rest, either holding their peace, or not daring to speak against them, (though very unwilling to grant them,) Sir THOMAS making a grave speech, argued

affirm, that all these counsels be to the king dishonour and reproach, whose honour and safety is more and rather supported and upholden by the wealth and riches of his people, than by his own treasures—and if I should declare that the communalty chooseth their king for their own sake, and not for his sake, to the intent, that through his labour and study they might all live wealthy, safe from wrongs and injuries—and that therefore the king ought to take more care for the wealth of his people, than for his own wealth—even as the office and duty of a shepherd is, in that he is a shepherd, to feed his sheep rather than himself?! For as touching this, that they think the defence and maintenance of peace to consist in poverty of the people, the thing itself

so strongly why these exactions were not to be granted, that thereby the king's demands were clean overthrown and his request denied: so that one Mr. Tyler of the king's privy chamber being present thereat, went immediately from the house, and told his majesty that "*a beardless boy had frustrated all his expectations.*"

To be revenged upon More, "the king devised a causeless quarrel against Sir John More, his father, keeping him in the Tower until he had made him pay *a hundred pounds fine!* See J. H. Vita et Exitus Tho. More, p. 6. 7.

sheweth that they be far out of the way—for where shall a man find more wrangling, quarrelling, brawling, and chiding, than among beggars? who be more desirous of new mutations and alterations, than they that be not content with the present state of their life? Or finally, who be bolder stomached to bring all in a hurly-burly* (thereby trusting to get some wind-fall) than they that have now nothing to loose? And if any king were so smally regarded, and so lightly esteemed: yea, so be-hated of his subjects, that other ways he could not keep them in awe, but only by open wrongs, by polling and shaving, and by bringing them to beggary; surely, it were better for him to forsake his kingdom than to hold it by that means! whereby, though the name of a king be kept, yet the majesty is lost: for it is against the dignity of a king to have rule over beggars, but rather over rich and wealthy men. Of this mind was the hardy and courageous *Fabricius*, when he said; that *he had rather be a ruler of rich men, than be rich himself.*

* See p. 108, ante; and note thereupon.

And verily, one man to live in pleasure and wealth, while all other weep and smart for it, that is the part, not of a king, but of a jailor. To be short, as he is a foolish physician that cannot cure his patient's disease, unless he cast him in another sickness; so he that cannot amend the lives of his subjects, but by taking from them the wealth and commodity of life, he must needs grant, that he knoweth not the feat how to govern men. But let him rather amend his own life, renounce unhonest pleasures, and forsake pride: for these be the chief vices that cause him to run in the contempt or hatred of his people. Let him live of his own, hurting no man: let him do cost not above his power: let him restrain wickedness: let him prevent vices, and take away the occasions of offences by well ordering his subjects, and not by suffering wickedness to encrease, afterward to be punished: let him not be too hasty in calling again laws, which a custom hath abrogated; especially such as have been long forgotten, and never lacked nor needed: and let him never, under the cloak and pretence of transgression, take such

fines* and forfeits, as no judge will suffer a private person to take, as unjust and full of guile.

Here if I should bring forth before them the law of the *Macariens*, which be not far distant from UTOPIA, whose king, the day of his coronation, is bound by a solemn oath that he shall never at any time have in his treasure above a thousand pound of gold or silver. They say, that a very good king, which took far more care for the wealth and commodity of his country, than for the enriching of himself, made this law to be a stop and bar to kings from heaping and hoarding up so much money as might impoverish their people: for he foresaw that this sum of treasure would suffice to support the king in battle against his own people, if they should chance to rebel: and also to maintain his wars against the invasions of his foreign enemies. Again, he perceived the same stock of money to be too little and unsufficient to encourage and enable him wrongfully to take away other

* MORE here alludes pointedly to the treatment of his father by Henry VII. See p. 116-17, note.

men's goods: which was the chief cause why the law was made. Another cause was this. He thought that by this provision his people should not lack money, wherewith to maintain their daily occupying and chaffer.*

And seeing the king could not choose but lay out and bestow all that came in above the prescript sum of his stock, he thought he would seek no occasions to do his subjects injury. Such a king shall be feared of evil men, and loved of good men. These, and such other informations, if I

* It has been before observed [p. 34.] that this word was used for merchandize or ware by Chaucer and Spenser: the following are the examples:

Clothes of gold, and satins riche of hewe,
His *chaffare* was so thrifty and so newe.
Cant. Tales, v. 4555. Tyrw. edit 8vo. vol. i. 178.

My gold is youres, whan that it you leste
And not only my gold, but my *chaffare*.
Ibid. vol. i. 212, 13215.

Spenser uses it as a participle:

Where is thy fayre flocke thou was woont to lead?
Or bene they *chaffred*, or at mischiefe dead?
Shepherd's Calender, Sept. v. 10.

that is, given as ware in exchange. It is used in this sense by the author of "Pierce Ploughman," *passim*.

should use among men wholly inclined and given to the contrary part, how deaf hearers think you shall I have? Deaf hearers, doubtless (quoth I): and in good faith no marvel. And to be plain with you, truly I cannot allow that such communication shall be used, or such counsel given, as you be sure shall never be regarded nor received: for how can so strange information be profitable, or how can they be beaten into their heads, whose minds be already prevented with clean contrary persuasions? This school philosophy is not unpleasant among friends in familiar communication, but in the counsels of kings, where great matters be debated and reasoned with great authority, these things have no place.

That is it which I meant (quoth he), when I said philosophy had no place among kings. Indeed (quoth I) this school philosophy hath not: which thinketh all things meet for every place. But there is another philosophy more civil, which knoweth, as ye would say, her own stage, and thereafter ordering and behaving herself in the play that

she hath in hand, playeth her part accordingly with comeliness, uttering nothing out of due order and fashion. And this is the philosophy that you must use. Or else, whiles a comedy of *Plautus* is playing, and the vile bond-men scoffing and trifling among themselves, if you should suddenly come upon the stage in a philosopher's apparel, and rehearse out of *Octavia* the place wherein *Seneca* disputeth with *Nero*, had it not been better for you to have played the dumb person, than by rehearsing that, which served neither for the time nor place, to have made such a tragical comedy or gallimalfry?* for by bringing in other stuff that nothing appertaineth to the matter, you must needs mar and prevent the play that is in hand, though the stuff that you bring be much better. What part soever

* "Cockeram, in his Dictionarie of hard words, 12mo. 1622, says a gallimaufry is "*a confused heap of things together.*" Stevens's note on Shakspeare, ed. 1803, ix. 360. In Shakspeare the word is thus used, "and they have a dance which the wenches say is a *gallimaufry of gambols.*" &c. Winter's Tale. Grose, in his Dictionary of the vulgar tongue, calls it "*a hodge-podge* made up of the remnants and scraps of the larder." ed. 1785.

you have taken upon you, play that as well as you can, and make the best of it; and do not therefore disturb and bring out of order the whole matter, because that another, which is merrier and better, cometh to your remembrance.

So the case standeth in a common-wealth: and so it is in the consultations of kings and princes. If evil opinions and naughty persuasions cannot be utterly and quite plucked out of their hearts, if you cannot even as you would, remedy vices which use and custom have confirmed; yet for this cause you must not leave and forsake the common-wealth: you must not forsake the ship in a tempest, because you cannot rule and keep down the winds. No, nor you must not labour to drive into their heads new and strange informations, which you know well shall be nothing regarded with them that be of clean contrary minds. But you must with a crafty wile and subtile train study and endeavour yourself, as much as in you lieth, to handle the matter wittily and handsomely for the purpose, and that which you can-

not turn to good, so to order it that it be not very bad: for it is not possible for all things to be well, unless all men were good; which I think will not be yet these good many years. By this means (quoth he) nothing else will be brought to pass; but while I go about to remedy the madness of others, I should be even as mad as they; for if I should speak things that be true, I must needs speak such things: but as for to speak false things, whether that be a philosopher's part or no, I cannot tell; truly it is not my part. Howbeit this communication of mine, though peradventure it may seem unpleasant to them, yet cannot I see why it should seem strange, or foolishly newfangled. If so be that I should speak those things that PLATO faineth in his weal-public, or that the *Utopians* do in theirs, these things though they were (as they be indeed) better, yet they might seem spoken out of place. For as much as here amongst us, every man hath his possessions several to himself, and there all things be in common.

But what was in my communication contained, that might not, and ought not in any

place to be spoken. Saving that to them which have thoroughly decreed and determined with themselves to run headlong on the contrary way, it cannot be acceptable and pleasant, because it calleth them back, and sheweth them the jeopardies. Verily if all things that evil and vicious manners have caused to seem unconvenient and naught, should be refused as things unmeet and reproachful, then we must among Christian people wink at the most part of all those things which Christ taught us, and so straightly forbad them to be winked at, that those things also which he whispered in the ears of his disciples, he commanded to be proclaimed in open houses. And yet the most part of them is more dissident from the manners of the world now a days, than my communication was. But preachers, sly and wily men, following your counsel (as I suppose) because they saw men evil-willing to frame their manners to Christ's * rule, they

* Mr. Knight, in his life of Dean Colet, [p. 163. note *m*.] tells us that the *first edition* of the Utopia gave such a ridiculous view of the several orders of the church of Rome,

have wrested and wryed his doctrine; and like a rule of lead have applied it to men's manners: that by some means, at the least way, they might agree together. Whereby I cannot see what good they have done, but that men may more sickerly* be evil. And I truly should prevail even as little in kings

that care was taken to expunge several passages relating thereunto. "Thus," says he, "in page 56 he taxes the preachers of that age for corrupting the Christian doctrine and practising upon it; for they, observing that the world did not suit their lives to the rules of Christ, have fitted his doctrine as if it had been *a leaden rule* to their lives, that some way or other, they might agree with one another." The part which Mr. Knight here alludes to, happens not to be at p. 56, but at p. 63, of the *first edition;* and the above passage, which he supposes to have been softened or altered in subsequent editions, also happens to remain in its original state in every subsequent one. This shews the necessity of examination before decision, or before we take upon us to repeat the observations of others. It is clear that in this instance Mr. Knight never examined the *editio princeps* of Utopia.

As to the above passage giving "a ridiculous view of the several orders in the church of *Rome*" in particular, the reader will probably agree with me that it is equally applicable to the church of *Petersburg!*

* Surely.

councils: for either I must say otherways than they say, and then I were as good to say nothing—or else I must say the same that they say, and (as *Mitio* saith in *Terence*) help to further their madness. For that crafty will and subtile train of yours, I cannot perceive to what purpose it serveth, wherewith you would have me to study and endeavour myself, if all things cannot be made good, yet to handle them wittily and handsomely for the purpose that, as far forth as is possible, they may not be very evil: for there is no place to dissemble in, nor to work in. Naughty counsels must be openly allowed, and very pestilent decrees must be approved.

He shall be counted worse than a spy, yea, almost as evil as a traitor, that with a faint heart doth praise evil and noisome decrees. Moreover, a man can have no occasion to do good, chancing into the company of them which will sooner pervert a good man,* than be made good themselves:

* "If this is not sufficient to deter a good man from mixing much with the courts of princes, we may add the testimony of the late lord Stanhope—a minister of more

through whose evil company he shall be marred, or else if he remained good and innocent, yet the wickedness and folly of others shall be imputed to him, and laid in his neck. So that it is impossible with that crafty wile, and subtle train, to turn any thing to better. Wherefore PLATO, by a goodly similitude, declareth why wise men refrain to meddle in the commonwealth: for when they see the people swarm into the streets, and daily wet to the skin with rain, and yet cannot persuade them to go out of the rain, and to take their house, knowing well that if they should go out to them, they should nothing prevail, nor win aught by it, but with them be wet also in the rain—they do keep themselves within their houses, being content that they be safe themselves, seeing they cannot remedy the folly of the

probity than this nation has ever seen, perhaps, or ever will see—who, after musing some time in company, started up, and said, as to himself,—"It is impossible!"—and being asked, what it was that was impossible, he replied, "It is impossible for a minister to be an honest man!"

WARNER.

people. Howbeit, doubtless, Master MORE (to speak truly as my mind giveth me), where possessions be private, where money beareth all the stroke,* it is hard and almost impossible that there the weal-public may justly be governed, and prosperously flourish; unless you think thus; that justice is there executed, where all things come into the hands of evil men: or that prosperity there flourisheth, where all is divided among a few: which few nevertheless do not lead their lives very wealthily, and the residue live miserably, wretchedly, and beggarly.

Wherefore, when I consider with myself, and weigh in my mind the wise and godly ordinances of the UTOPIANS; among whom, with very few laws all things be so well

* "Ubi omnes omnia pecuniis metiuntur."—"While money is the standard of all other things" say Burnet and Warner. I have consulted the glossaries of our best etymologists, including those of Ritson and Mr. G. Chalmers, but cannot discover any passage in which the word "stroke" is used as above. I suppose it to be analogous to—such a thing, or such an one, bearing *the bell;* having the chief *power*, or *pre-eminence*.

and wealthily ordered, that virtue is had in price and estimation, and yet all things being there common, every man hath abundance of every thing. Again, on the other part, when I compare with them so many nations ever making new laws, yet none of them all well and sufficiently furnished with laws: where every man calleth that he hath gotten his own proper and private goods; where so many new laws daily made, be not sufficient for every man to enjoy, defend, and know from another man's that which he calleth his own: which thing, the infinite controversies in the law that daily rise never to be ended, plainly declare to be true—these things (I say) when I consider with myself, I hold well with PLATO, and do nothing marvel that he would make no laws for them that refused those laws, whereby all men should have and enjoy equal portions of wealth and commodities.

For the wise man did easily foresee this to be the one and only way to the wealth of a commonalty, if equality of all things should be brought in and established; which I think

is not possible to be observed,* where every man's goods be proper and peculiar to himself: for where every man under certain titles and pretences draweth and plucketh to himself as much as he can; so that a few divide among themselves all the whole riches, be there never so much abundance and store—there, to the residue is left lack and poverty.

And for the most part it chanceth, that this latter sort is more worthy to enjoy that state of wealth than the other be: because the rich men be covetous, crafty, and unprofitable; on the other part, the poor be lowly, simple, and by their daily labour, more profitable to the commonwealth than to themselves. Thus, I do fully persuade myself,

* We all, I believe, think so *now*; though there was a period, and that not a far distant one, when Englishmen as well as Frenchmen shouted for "liberty and equality."—It has so happened that the former retain that liberty which once they wished to have parted with, and that the latter, instead of equality, are now submissive beneath the sway of absolute monarchy. Such is the strange and melancholy fickleness of human nature!

that no equal and just distribution of things can be made, nor that perfect wealth shall ever be among men, unless this propriety be exiled and banished. But so long as it shall continue, so long shall remain among the most and best part of men, the heavy and inevitable burthen of poverty and wretchedness. Which, as I grant that it may be somewhat eased, so I utterly deny that it can wholly be taken away: for if there were a statute made, that no man should have in his stock above a prescript and appointed sum of money: if it were by certain laws decreed, that neither the king should be of too great power, neither the people too haughty and wealthy; and that offices should not be obtained by inordinate suit, or by bribes and gifts: that they should neither be bought nor sold, nor that it should be needful for the officers to be at any cost or charge in their offices: [for so occasion is given to them, by fraud and ravin, to gather up their money again; and by reason of gifts and bribes, the offices be given to rich men, which should rather have been executed of wise men:] by such laws

I say, like as sick bodies that be desperate and past cure, be wont with continual good cherishing to be kept and botched up for a time—so these evils also may be lightened and mitigated. But that they may be perfectly cured, brought to a good and upright state, it is not to be hoped for whilst every man is master of his own to himself. Yea, and whilst you go about to do your cure of one part, you shall make bigger the sore of another part; so the help of one causeth another's harm: forasmuch, as nothing can be given to any one unless it be taken from another.

"But I am of a contrary opinion (quoth I*); for me thinketh that men shall never there live wealthily, where all things be common: for how can there be abundance of goods, or of any thing, where every man withdraweth his hand from labour? Whom the regard of his own gains driveth not to work, but the hope that he hath in other men's travails makes him slothful.

* That is, MORE—who is now speaking in reply to Hytholodæus.

Then when they be pricked with poverty, and yet no man can by any law or right defend that for his own, which he hath gotten with the labour of his own hands, shall not there of necessity be continual sedition and bloodshed? Specially the authority and reverence of magistrates being taken away—which, what place it may have with such men among whom is no difference, I cannot devise." "I marvel not (quoth he) that you be of this opinion: for you conceive in your mind, either none at all, or else a very false image and similitude of this thing. But if you had been with me in UTOPIA,* and had presently seen their fashions and laws, as I did—which lived there five years and more, and would never have come thence, but only

* There is something very skilful in the frequent introduction of this word, before the commencement of the second book, which is a regular history of the laws and customs of the Utopians. By an apparently artless manner of referring to the Utopian laws, Hythlodæus excites the curiosity, and sharpens the appetite, of his hearers to become acquainted with them. At length, having wrought this curiosity to the highest pitch, he satisfies it by the recital which occupies the entire second book.

to make that new land known here—then, doubtless, you would grant that you never saw people well ordered, but only there. "Surely (quoth Master *Peter*) it shall be hard for you to make me believe that there is better order in that new land, than is here in the countries that we know. For good wits be as well here as there: and I think our common-wealths be ancienter than theirs; wherein long use and experience hath found out many things commodious for man's life; besides, that, many things here among us have been found by chance, which no wit could ever have devised." "As touching the ancientness (quoth he) of common-wealths, then you might better judge if you had read the histories and chronicles of that land, which, if we may believe, *cities* were there before *men* were here!

Now what thing soever hitherto by wit hath been devised, or found by chance, that might be as well there as here. But I think verily, though it were so that we did pass them in wit, yet in study, in travel, and in laboursome endeavour, they far pass us:

for (as their chronicles testify) before our arrival there, they never heard any thing of us, whom they call the *Ultra-equinoctials*: saying that once, about twelve hundred years ago, a certain ship was lost by the isle of UTOPIA, which was driven thither by tempest. Certain Romans and Egyptians were cast on land, which after that never went thence.

Mark now what profit they took of this one occasion, through diligence and earnest travail! There was no craft nor science within the empire of Rome whereof any profit could rise, but they either learned it of those strangers, or else of them, taking occasion to search for it, found it out. So great profit was it to them that ever any went thither from hence. But if any like chance before this hath brought any man from thence hither, that is as quite out of remembrance, as this also perchance, in time to come, shall be forgotten that ever I was there. And like as they quickly, almost at the first meeting, made their own, whatsoever is among us wealthily devised: so I suppose it would be long before we should

receive any thing, that among them is better instituted than among us.

And this I suppose is the chief cause why their common-wealths be wiselier governed, and do flourish in more wealth than ours, though we neither in wit nor riches be their inferiors. * Therefore, gentle Master *Raphael*, (quoth I), I pray you and beseech

* " Ergo, mi Raphael, inquam, quæso te atque obsecro, describe nobis insulam: nec velis esse brevis, sed explices ordinè agros, fluvois, urbes, homines, mores, instituta, leges, ac denique omnia, quæ nos putes velle cognoscere: putabis autem velle quicquid adhuc nescimus. Nihil, inquit, faciam libentius: nam hæc in promptu habeo, sed res otium poscit. Eamus ergo, inquam, intrò pransum; mox tempus nostro arbitratu sumemus. Fiat, inquit. Ita ingressi, prandemus: pransi, in eundem reversi locum, in eodem sedili consedimus: ac jussis ministris, ne quis interpellaret, ego, ac Petrus Ægidius hortamur RAPHAELEM, ut præstet quod erat pollicitus. Is ergo ubi nos vidit intentos atque avidos audiendi, quum paulisper tacitus et cogitabundus assedisset, hunc in modum exorsus est."

The following is the French translation, which is elegant aud animated.

" Cela étant, m'écriai-je, je vous prie, mon cher Raphael, je vous conjure, faites-nous la description de cette Ile incomparable. Ne cherchez point à abreger vôtre matiere. Dites-nous par ordre et dans un détail exact, les campagnes, les fleuves, les villes, les habitans,

you describe unto us THE ISLAND. And study not to be short: but declare largely in order, the grounds, the rivers, the cities, the people, the manners, the ordinances, the laws; and to be short, all things that you shall think us desirous to know. And you shall think us desirous to know whatsoever we know not yet.

" There is nothing (quoth he) that I will do gladlier. For all these things I have

les mœurs, les coutumes, les loix; enfin, tout ce que vous croirez que nous serons bien aises d'apprendre. Or vous jugez bien que nôtre curiosité est affamée de tout ce que nous ignorons."

" Il n'est rien, repartit nôtre Philosophe, que je fasse plus volontiers: je possède assez le sujet: mais la chose demande un peu de relâche; laissez moi, s'il vous plait, respirer. Cela est trop juste, repondis-je: allons donc trouver le diné qui nous attend: nous prendrons ensuite le tems qui nous sera le plus commode. J'y consens, dit Raphaël. Nous entrons; nous dînons; puis étant retournez au jardin, nous reprimes nos places sur le gason— les domestiques aïant ordre de ne laisser entre aucun facheux. Alors mon ami et moi prions *Raphaël* de tenir parole. Lui, nous voïant des gens qui préparoient toute leur attention, et qui avoient grande envie d'écouter, après un peu de silence et de meditation, il débuta de cette maniere-ci."

fresh in mind: but the matter requireth leisure." "Let us go in therefore (quoth I) to dinner, and afterward we will bestow the time at our pleasure." "Content (quoth he) be it." So we went in and dined.

When dinner was done, we came into the same place again, and sat us down upon the same bench, commanding our servants that no man should trouble us. Then I and Master *Peter Giles*, desired Master *Raphael* to perform his promise.

He, therefore, seeing us desirous and willing to hearken to him—when he had sat still and paused a little while, musing and bethinking himself, thus he began to speak.

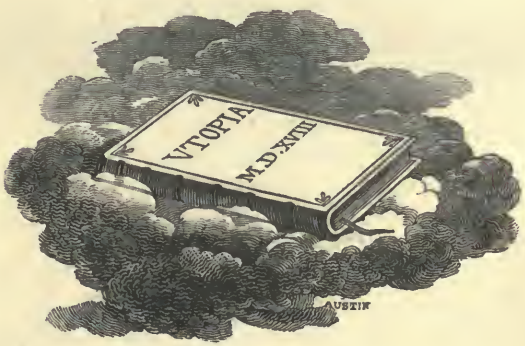
End of the First Book.*

* "The pleasing manner in which this *first book*, or part of the work is written, the felicity of the style, the elegance of the satire, the acuteness of the remarks on men and manners, the freedom and manliness of the opinions, would have raised it to distinction in *any age*; but in the rude and ignorant period when it appeared, justly entitled it to general admiration.

"With so much skill and apparent simplicity are the dialogues and the narrative conducted, that several persons did not suspect that MORE had imposed upon them a work

of his own fancy: some envious critics even went so far as to affirm, that, to their certain knowledge, Hythlodæus had not only furnished the materials of the narrative, but had actually dictated the whole from the beginning to end; while the scribbler, who now enjoyed all the reputation, had acted as a mere amanuensis. Some grave and zealous divines, on the other hand, strongly moved by the virtues of the Utopians, had actually determined to embark in an attempt to achieve the good work of their conversion to Christianity."

MACDIARMID'S *Lives of British Statesmen*, 19, 21.



THE

COMMONWEALTH OF UTOPIA.*

Book the Second.

" Mori nomen in UTOPIA perenni constantiæ laude fruitur. In ea enim beatæ gentis regione optimis instituta legibus, ac opulenta pace florentem rempublicam elegantissimè descripsit, quum damnatos corrupti seculi mores fastidiret, ut ad bene beateque vivendum commento perjucundo, rectissimâ via monstraretur."—PAULUS JOVIUS *in Elog. doct. Viror.* tit. 89.

" Nihil in eo opere, vel circa inventionem jucundius, acutius, et artificiosius; vel circa orationis genus, elegantius, uberius, ornatius; vel circa precepta vitæ ac morum, gravius, solidius, prudentius. Ejus lectio nec lectorem unquam fastidire, nec absque singulari aliquo fructu dimittere potest, si attentus et proficiendo studio legat."

STAPLETON, *Vit. Mori*, p. 46.

" La Proprieté, l'Avarice, l'Ambition, ces trois pestes de la Societé civile, ces trois Monstres qui ravagent le genre humain, ne se trouvent point en Utopie. Cette republique est d'une constitution singuliére. On y voit la superiorité avec l'egalité; la pauvreté avec les richesses; le commandement avec l'obeïssance; enfin, tout ce qu'il y a de different, de separé, dans les autres états, est réüni, ou pour mieux dire, n'est que la même chose dans celui-ci."

GUEUDEVILLE, *Traduct. Franc. Pref.*

CHAPTER I.

Of the Island and Inhabitants of Utopia.

THE island of UTOPIA* containeth in breadth in the middle part of it (for there

* The reader need hardly be informed that this is a Greek word, compounded of Ευ and τοπος—signifying, a happy place —a land of perfection.—Some have whimsically imagined

it is broadest) two hundred miles; which breadth continueth through the most part of the land, saving that by little it cometh in, and waxeth narrower towards both the ends: which fetching about a circuit or compass of five hundred miles, do fashion the whole island like to the new moon:* between these two corners the sea runneth in, dividing them asunder by the distance of eleven miles or thereabouts, and there surmounteth into a large sea, which by reason that the land on every side compasseth it about, and sheltereth it from the winds, is not rough, nor mounteth not with great waves, but almost floweth quietly, not much unlike a great standing pool; and

it to be compounded of ου-τοπος—no such, or not a place—meaning that it is purely *fictitious*. More has endeavoured to conceal the fiction by making the island named after king UTOPUS. See page 6, post.

In the *editio princeps* of the Utopia, there is a wood cut of a bird's-eye view of the island, with its cities, &c. which is sufficiently rude: this is copied, on a reduced scale, in the Basil edition of 1563.

* "Not unlike a crescent," say the modern translators—"in lunæ speciem—cujus cornua," &c. in the original.

maketh well nigh all the space within the belly of the land in manner of a haven: and to the great commodity of the inhabitants, receiveth in ships towards every part of the land. The fore-fronts or frontiers of the two corners, what with boards and shelves, and what with rocks, be jeopardous* and dangerous. In the middle distance between them both, standeth up above the water a great rock, which therefore it is nothing perilous, because it is in sight Upon the top of this rock is a fair and strong tower builded, which they hold with a garrison of men. Other rocks there be lying hid under the water, which therefore be dangerous. The channels be known only to themselves. And therefore it seldom chanceth that any stranger, unless he be guided by an *Utopian*, can come into this

* "Fauces hinc vadis, inde saxis formidolosæ"—in the original, which is concise and strong. "Jeopardous," used in the above translation as an *adjective*, is of rather rare occurrence among our old authors. Johnson has confined his illustrations only to the *substantive* "jeopardy," and in these he cites no authority earlier than Bacon.

haven. Insomuch that they themselves could scarcely enter without jeopardy, but that their way is directed and ruled by certain land marks standing on the shore. By turning, translating,* and removing the marks into other places, they may destroy their enemies navies, be they never so many.

The outside or outer circuit of the land is also full of havens, but the landing is so surely fenced, what by nature and what by workmanship of men's hands, that a few defenders may drive back many armies. Howbeit, as they say, and as the fashion of the place itself doth partly shew, it was not ever compassed about with the sea. But king UTOPUS, whose name, as conqueror, the island beareth (for before this time it was called *Abraxa*—which also brought the rude and wild people to that excellent perfection in all good fashions, humanity, and civil gentleness, wherein they now go beyond all

* This word is rarely used in the above sense; there is not, I believe, any example of it in Spenser or Shakspeare.

the people in the world)—even at his arriving and entering upon the land, forthwith obtaining the victory, caused fifteen miles space of uplandish ground, where the sea had no passage, to be cut and digged up; and so wrought the sea round about the land. He set to this work, not only the inhabitants of this island, (because they should not think it done in contumely and despite), but also all his own soldiers. Thus the work being divided into so great a number of workmen, was with exceeding marvellous speed dispatched. Insomuch, that the borderers, which at the first began to mock, and to jest at the vain enterprise, then turned their derision to marvel at the success, and to fear.

There be in the island fifty-four large and fair CITIES, or *shire towns*,* agreeing altogether in one tongue, in like manners, insti-

* The expression "*shire towns*" is gratuitous in the translation. — More says only, "civitates, &c. spaciosas omnes ac magnificas." "The word *shire*," says Ley, "is an ancient Saxon word, meaning to cut, *sheer*, or to divide; and the aspiration *sh* hath been brought in by the

tutions, and laws: they be all set and situate alike, and in all points fashioned alike, as far forth as the place or plot suffereth. Of these cities, they that be nighest together be twenty-four miles asunder. Again, there is none of them distant from the next, above one days journey a-foot. There come yearly to *Amaurote*, out of every city, three old men wise and well experienced, there to entreat and debate of the common matters of the land. For this city (because it standeth just in the midst of the island, and is therefore most meet for the ambassadors of all parts of the realm) is taken for the *chief and head city*. The precincts and bounds of the shires be so commodiously pointed out, and set forth for the cities, that none of them all hath of any side less than twenty miles of ground, and of some side also much more,

Normans, as in divers other the like words may be exemplified." From the same authority we are told that the first division of this land into shires took place before or during the reign of Alfred. See Hearne's *Antiquarian Discourses*, vol. i. 29, 30. edit. 1775, and consult Hearne's Preface, p. xlii.

as of that part where the cities be of further distance asunder. None of the cities desire to enlarge the bounds and limits of their shires. For they count themselves rather the good husbands, than the owners of their lands. They have in the country, in a parts of the shire, houses or farms builded, well appointed and furnished with all sorts of instruments and tools belonging to husbandry. These houses be inhabited of the citizens, which come thither to dwell by course. No houshold or farm in the country hath fewer than fifty persons, men and women, besides two bondmen, which be all under the rule and order of the good man, and the good wife of the house, being both very sage, discreet, and ancient persons. And every thirty farms or families have one head ruler, which is called a *Philarch*,* being as it were a head bailiff; out of every one of these

* "Phylarchus" in More; which Burnet translates, perhaps properly enough, "Magistrate." In the French translation it is "Directeur." The original expression is Greek, and means "the head of a tribe"—φυλος-αρχη.

families or farms, cometh every year into the city, twenty persons, which have continued two years before in the country. In their place so many fresh be sent thither out of the city, who of them that have been there a year already, and be therefore expert and cunning in husbandry, shall be instructed and taught. And they the next year shall teach each other.

This order is used for fear that either scarceness of victuals, or some other like incommodity should chance, through lack of knowledge, if they should be altogether new, and fresh, and unexpert in husbandry. This manner and fashion of yearly changing and renewing the occupiers of husbandry, though it be solemn and customably used, to the intent that no man shall be constrained against his will to continue long in that hard and sharp kind of life, yet many of them have such a pleasure and delight in husbandry, that they obtain a longer space of years. These husbandmen plough and till the ground, and breed up cattle, and provide and make ready wood, which they

carry to the city either by land or water, as they may most conveniently.

They bring up a great multitude of pullein,* and that by a marvellous policy: for the hens do not sit upon the eggs; but by keeping them in a certain equal heat they bring life into them, and hatch them. The chickens, as soon as they be come out of the shell, follow men and women instead of the hens. They bring up very few horses: nor none but very fierce ones, and that for none other use or purpose, but only to exercise their youth in riding, and feats of arms:† for

* *Poultry:* the above word, of rare occurrence in English, is probably a corruption of the Latin word *pullus*, or of the French *poulet*.

† MORE seems here to have imitated the hardy institutions of the Persians, as described by Xenophon in the early part of his first book of the Cyropædia.—The young men were trained up to the exercise of hunting; of boldly attacking, as well as successfully evading, the wild beasts of the chase, in order to prepare them for "feats of arms"—ὅτι ἀληθεστάτη δοκεῖ αὕτη ἡ μελέτη τῶν ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΝ ΠΟΛΕΜΟΝ εἶναι."

The practice of young men's *riding horses* not only met with the commendation of ASCHAM, but the disuse of it, in Queen Elizabeth's time, seems to have been

oxen be put to all the labour of ploughing

seriously regretted by him, " I do not write this," says he (in his *Schoolmaster*), " that I wolde dissuade yonge jentlemen from ryding; yea I am sorry, with all my harte, that they be given no more to ryding than they be; for, of all outward qualities, to ride faire is most cumlie for himself, most necessarie *for his countrie*, &c." p. 219, Bennet's edit.

The reader has already been made acquainted [vol. i. p. 69] with the principal athletic *Games* of our ancestors at the period of More's writing his Utopia. I shall now inform him of the principal *Exercises* of his countrymen during the same period. " Strong or violent exercises" (says Sir Thomas Elyot) " be these; delvyng, specially in tough clay and hevy; bearying or susteinyng of heavy burdens; climmyng or walkying against a stepe upright hyll; holdynge a rope and climmyng up thereby; hangeyng by the hand, on any thyng above a man's reach, that his feete touch not the ground; standyng and holdyng up or spreadyng the armes with the hands faste closed, and abidyng so a long tyme; wrestling also with the armes and legges;—all these kyndes of exercises, and other like them, do augment strength, and thereby they serve only for *yong men* which be inclined or be apt *to the warres*."

" Swift exercise, without violence, is runnyng, plaiyng with weapons, tenyse, or throwing of the ball, trottyng a space of grounde forwarde and backwarde, goeyng on the toes, and holdyng up the handes—also swinging up and down his armes without plummettes—daunsyng of

and drawing:* which they grant not to be so good as horses at a sudden brunt, and (as we say) at a dead lift; but yet they hold an opinion that oxen will abide and suffer much more labour, pain, and hardiness than horses will; and they think that oxen be not in danger and subject unto so many diseases,

galyardes, throwying of the ball, football plaie, throwying of the long darte, runnyng in harneyse, and other lyke."

Castell of Helth, fol. 50. edit. 1541.

* This, as every one knows, was the usual practice with the ancients, and the custom may yet be seen in many antique fragments of sculpture. In Heresbachius's book of husbandry, which seems to have been the favourite agricultural work of the sixteenth century (from the number of English translations that were made of it), the following instructions are given to buy draught oxen. "Looke that they be gentill, skilfull in their labour, fearful of the goade and the driver, not dreading any water, or bridge; great feeders, but softly, and not overhastily; for such doo best digest their meate." See Barnabe Googe's translation, fol. 128. ed. 1586, printed for John Wight.

The custom of ploughing with oxen prevails at the present day. The principal reason for employing them seems to be the cheapness of their purchase and keep, compared with that of horses, and their value to the owner, when the purposes of agriculture are accomplished, by selling them as the most nutritious of animal food.

and that they be kept and maintained with much less cost and charge: and finally that they be good for meat, when they be past labour. They sow corn only for bread; for their drink is either wine made of grapes, or else of apples or pears, or else it is clear * water: and many times meath † made of honey, or liquorice sodden in water; for thereof they have great store. And though they know certainly (for they know it perfectly indeed) how much victuals the city with the whole country or shire round about it doth spend; yet they sow much

* So the Persians, according to Xenophon—"πιεῖν δὲ, ἤν τις διψῇ, κώθωνα, ὡς ΑΠΟ ΤΟΥ ΠΟΤΑΜΟΥ ἀρύσασθαι.

† "Meath" is said by Johnson to be "drink, properly made of honey," for which the authority of Milton is given:

For drink the grape
She crushes, inoffensive musk, and *meathes*
From many a berry.

But I suspect it is pretty nearly, if not precisely, the same as *Mead;* a liquor which is frequently sold by our publicans, as their sign-board announces. The authorities for the word "Mead" in Johnson, justify this conclusion.

The French translation reads "de l'eau, &c. souvent bouillie avec du miel."

more corn, and breed up much more cattle than serveth for their own use, parting the overplus among their borderers. Whatsoever necessary things be lacking in the country, all such stuff they fetch out of the city: where without any exchange, they easily obtain it of the magistrates of the city. For every month many of them go into the city on the holiday. When their harvest day draweth near, and is at hand, then the *Philarches*, which be the head officers and bailiffs of husbandry, send word to the magistrates of the city what number of harvest men is needful to be sent to them out of the city: the which company of harvest men, being ready at the day appointed, almost in one fair day dispatcheth all the harvest work.

CHAPTER II.

Of the Cities, Streets, Houses, &c.

As for the cities, whoso knoweth one of them knoweth them all: they be all so like one to another, as far forth as the nature of the place permitteth. I will describe to you one or other of them, for it skilleth * not greatly which: but which rather than AMAUROTE? Of them all, this is the worthiest and of most dignity. For the residue knowledge † it for the head city, because there is the council house. Nor to me any of them all is better beloved, as wherein I lived five whole years together. The city of *Amaurote* standeth upon the side of a low hill, in fashion almost four-square.‡

* "*It matters not.*" The verb "skill" is now rarely used: Johnson cites the authorities of Whitgift and Hooper, but I have found it in Trevisa and Wickliffe. The latest English classical writer, who has frequently used it in the above sense, is Massinger. *Parl. of Love, Duke of Milan,* &c.

† This contraction of the verb "acknowledge" is used also by Bacon.

‡ One is surprised to find the editor of this edition boasting of its superiority over the first, when he has not only

For the breadth of it beginneth a little beneath the top of the hill, and still continueth by the space of two miles, until it come to the river of *Anyder*. The length of it, which lieth by the river's side, is somewhat more. The river of *Anyder* riseth four and twenty miles above *Amaurote* out of a little spring: but being increased by other small rivers and brooks that run into it, and among other, two somewhat big ones; before the city, it is half a mile broad, and further, broader. And forty miles beyond the city it falleth into the ocean * sea. By all that space that lieth between the sea and the city, and certain miles also above the city, the water ebbeth and floweth six hours together

increased the errors of Robinson's, but seems to have delighted in adopting all its incongruous phrases, of which the above is a sufficient specimen—" Figura quadrata" is More's language. The old translator meant that it had " four sides in the fashion of a square."

* " The ocean sea" is precisely the " mare oceanum" of Cæsar. Ocean, as an adjective, is used also by Milton; " ocean ware" and " ocean stream." Dr. Johnson says that this is rather an obsolete mode of applying the word, though it is conformable to the original import of it. More simply says, " excipitur oceano."

with a swift tide. When the sea floweth in, for the length of thirty miles it filleth all the *Anyder* with salt water, and driveth back the fresh water of the river. And somewhat further, it changeth the sweetness of the fresh water with the saltness. But a little beyond that, the river waxeth sweet, and runneth fore by the city fresh and pleasant. And when the sea ebbeth, and goeth back again, the fresh water followeth it almost even to the very fall of the sea. There goeth a bridge over the river, made not of piles or of timber, but of stone * work, with gorgeous and substantial arches at that part of the city that is farthest from the sea: to the intent that ships may pass along fore by all the side of the city without let. They have also another river which indeed is not very great; but it runneth gently and pleasantly: for it riseth even out of the same hill that the city standeth upon, and runneth down a slope through the midst of the city into *Anyder*.

And because it riseth a little without the

* In the margin of Alsop's edition, it is said, "Herein also doth London agree with Amaurote."

city, the *Amauritians* have inclosed the head-spring of it, with strong fences, and bulwarks, and so have joined it to the city. This is done to the intent that the water should not be stopped, nor turned away, or poisoned, if their enemies should chance to come upon them. From thence the water is derived and conveyed down in channels of brick, divers ways, into the lower parts of the city. Where that cannot be done, by reason that the place will not suffer it, there they gather the rain water in great cisterns, which doth them as good service. The city is compassed about with a high and thick stone wall, full of turrets and bulwarks. A dry ditch, but deep and broad, and overgrown with bushes, briars, and thorns, goeth about three sides or quarters of the city. To the fourth side, the river itself serveth as a ditch. The *Streets* be appointed and set forth very commodious and handsome, both for carriage, and also against the winds. The houses be of fair and gorgeous building, and on the street side they stand joined together in a long row through

the whole street without any partition or separation. The streets be twenty * foot broad. On the back side of the houses, through the whole length of the street, lie large gardens inclosed round about with the back part of the streets. Every house hath two doors, one into the street, and a postern door on the back side into the garden: these doors be made with two leaves,† never locked nor bolted; so easy to be opened, that they will follow the least drawing of a finger, and

* More seems to have taken his idea of the proper width of a street from the confined scale on which most of the European cities were built in his time.—What would he have said to our *Oxford-street*, one mile and a half long, and on an average, sixty feet wide?

† It is singular that *all* the translators should have adopted this expression, which is here almost unintelligible—"Bifores apertiles" is More's phrase; meaning simply that the doors are divided into two flaps, or parts; a fashion now adopted in our drawing rooms, where two are contrived to be thrown open into one; though I presume this latter fashion was not dreamt of by the good Utopians, or their historian.

At the conclusion of the above sentence [gardens], Alsop gravely tells us in a marginal note, that "This geare smelleth of Plato his community!"

shut again alone. Whoso will, may go in, for there is nothing within the houses that is private, or any man's own. And every tenth year they change their houses by lot.

They set great store by their *gardens*. In them they have vineyards, all manner of fruit, herbs, and flowers; so pleasant, so well furnished, and so finely kept, that I never saw thing more fruitful, nor better trimmed in any place. Their study and diligence herein, cometh not only of pleasure, but also of a certain strife and contention that is between street and street, concerning the trimming, husbanding, and furnishing of their gardens: every man for his own part. And verily you shall not lightly find in all the city, any thing that is more commodious, either for the profit of the citizens, or for pleasure: and therefore it may seem that the first founder of the city minded nothing so much as these gardens. For they say that king *Utopus* himself, even at the first beginning, appointed and drew forth the platform of the city into this fashion

and figure that it hath now; but * the gallant garnishing, and the beautiful setting forth of it, whereunto he saw that one man's age would not suffice, *that* he left to his posterity. For their chronicles, which they keep written with all diligent circumspection, containing the history of 1760 † years, even from the first conquest of the island, record and witness that the houses in the beginning were very low, and like homely cottages or poor shepherd houses, made at all adventures of every rude piece of timber, that came first to

* In Burnet and Warner the passage stands thus—"but he left all that belonged to the ornament and improvement of it, to be added by those that should come after him—that being too much for one man to bring to perfection." The original is as follows: "Sed ornatum, cæterumque cultum, quibus unius ætatem hominis haud suffecturam vidit, posteris adjiciendum reliquit."

The expression "*gallant* garnishing" is here among the earliest instances of it in our language. Johnson cites nothing more ancient than Shakspeare. Gray's "gallant trim" is analagous to it.

† I suspect More meant to ridicule the supposed antiquities of towns in general, or rather the positive manner in which antiquaries are apt to assign old dates to them.

hand with mud walls, and ridged roofs, thatched over with straw. But now* the houses be curiously builded after a gorgeous and gallant sort, with three stories one over another. The outsides of the walls be made either of hard flint, or of plaister, or else of brick, and the inner sides be well strengthened with timber work.† The roofs be plain

* The above is among the earliest specimens of the use of this word in our language.—In the edition of 1551 it is spelt "gorgiouse."

† "The progress of *improvement in building*," says Mr. Ellis, in his amusing "Digression on the private Life of the English," [Spec. Early Engl. Poets, vol. i. 327.] was from clay to lath and plaster, which was formed into pannels between the principal timbers: to floors coated with plaster of Paris; and to cielings overlaid with mortar and washed with lime or plaster "of delectable whiteness." Country-houses were generally covered with shingles; but in towns, the danger of fires obliged the inhabitants to adopt the use of the tile or slate. "The walls of our houses in the inner side, says Harrison, (who wrote in Q. Elizabeth's reign) be either hanged with tapestry, arras work, or painted cloths, wherein either divers histories, or herbs, beasts, knots, and such like, are stained; or else they are seeled with oak of our own, or wainscot brought hither out of the east countries." Chron. p. 187.

The reader has before [vol. i. 69. note] had some ac-

and flat, covered with a certain kind of plaister, that is of no cost, and yet so tempered that no fire can hurt or perish it, and withstandeth the violence of the weather better than any lead. They keep the wind out of their windows with glass,* for it is there much used; and some where also, with fine linen cloth dipped in oil or

count of the *domestic manners and customs* of the English; it may be here only necessary to observe, that, the plague and sweating sickness, which prevailed in More's time, are attributed by Erasmus to the structure of our clay floors, apartments, and principally to the rushes that were strewed upon them—" under which, says he, lies a putrid mixture of beer, stinking fragments of food, and all sorts of nastiness." The filth of our streets, and construction of our houses at this time, are also censured by him. See his letter to Francescus, Wolsey's Physician. Jortin's Life of Erasmus, vol. ii. 341.

* *Glazed windows* were first introduced into this country, in the year 1180, according to Dr. Anderson. History of Com. vol. i. p. 90. edit. 1764. They are always mentioned by our early poets with an air of affectation which evinces their rarity; " so that," says Mr. Ellis, " we are not surprised at being told that the yeomen and farmers were perfectly contented with windows of lattice." Spec. Early Engl. Poets, vol. i. 323.

amber,* and that for two commodities: for by this means more light cometh in, and the wind is better kept out.

* "The fondness of our ancestors for *spices* and *perfumes* of all kinds was excessive." Lydgate thought it necessary that Venus, when rising from the sea, should be "anointe with gums and ointments sweeter for to smell:" and the author of the Romance of the "Squyr of Low Degre," says

Whan you are layde in bedde so soft,
A cage of golde shall hange alofte.
With *longe-pepper* fayre burning,
And *cloves* that be swete smellyng,
Frankensense and *olibanum*, &c.

v. 845—9.

Ritson's Metrical Romances, vol. iii. 180.—Ellis's Early Engl. Poetry, vol. iii. 338—44. Consult also Ritson's ingenious notes upon "The Squyr"—and upon the antiquity of the Romance; which "has been thought even anterior, in point of date, to the time of Chaucer." The only copy of it, in MS. or in print, that is known to exist, is the one in the British Museum, formerly belonging to Garrick—printed probably about the year 1560. Ritson's Metr. Rom. vol. iii. 344, &c.

CHAPTER III.

Of the Magistrates.

EVERY thirty families or farms, choose them yearly an officer, which in their old language is called the *Siphogrant*, and by a newer name, the *Philarch*. Every ten *Siphogrants*, with all their thirty families, be under an officer, which was once called the *Tranibore*, now the chief *Philarch*. Moreover as concerning the election of the prince, all the *Siphogrants*, which be in number two hundred, first be sworn to choose him, whom they think most meet and expedient. Then by a secret election,* they name Prince one of those four whom the people before named unto them. For out of the four quarters of the city there be four chosen, out of every quarter one, to stand for the election: which be put up to the council. The Prince's office continueth all his lifetime, unless he be deposed or put

* Alsop exclaims in a marginal note, "A mervilous strange fashion in choosing magistrates!"

down for suspicion of tyranny. They choose the Tranibores yearly, but lightly they change them not. All the other officers be but for one year. The Tranibores every third day, and sometimes, if need be, oftener, come into the council house with the Prince. Their counsel is concerning the common-wealth. If there be any controversies among the commoners, which be very few, they dispatch and end them by and by. They take ever two Siphogrants to them in counsel, and every day a new couple. And it is provided, that nothing touching the common-wealth shall be confirmed and ratified, unless it have been reasoned of and debated, three days in the counsel before it be decreed. It is death to have any consultation for the common-wealth out of the council, or the place of the common election. This statute, they say, was made to the intent, that the Prince and Tranibores might not easily conspire together to oppress the people by tyranny, and to change the state of the weal-public. Therefore matters of great weight and importance be brought to the

election house of the Siphogrants, which, open the matter to their families. And afterward, when they have consulted among themselves, they shew their devise of the counsel. Sometime the matter is brought before the counsel of the whole island. Furthermore, this custom also the counsel useth, to dispute or reason of no matter the same day * that it is first proposed or put forth, but to defer it to the next sitting of the counsel: because that no man, when he hath rashly there spoken what cometh to his tongue's end, shall then afterward rather study for reasons wherewith to defend and maintain his first foolish sentence, than for the commodity of the common-wealth—as one rather willing the harm or hindrance of the weal-public, than any loss or diminution of his own estimation. And as one that would be ashamed (which is a very foolish shame) to

* More borrowed this law from the usages of his own country, but particularly from the custom of our House of Commons; where *notice* is always given for leave to bring in a bill, or to make a motion on any important national question, at a future day.

be counted any thing at the first over seen in the matter; who at the first ought to have spoken rather wisely, than hastily or rashly.*

* This concluding sentence is very obscure. The original is as follows: "Malitque salutis publicæ, quàm opinionis de se jacturam facere, perverso quodam ac prepostero pudore, ne initio parum prospexisse videatur. Cui prospiciendum initio fuit, ut consultò potius, quàm cito loqueretur." Which Burnet more intelligibly translates—"and by a perverse and preposterous sort of shame, hazard their country rather than endanger their own reputation, or venture the being suspected to have wanted foresight in the expedients that they at first proposed: and therefore, to prevent this, they take care that they may rather be deliberate than sudden in their motions." But how paraphrastic is this, compared with the sententious brevity of the original Latin? The French translation is not quite so loose as the English.

CHAPTER IV.

Trades, Arts, Professions, and Occupations of the Utopians.

HUSBANDRY * is a science common to them all in general, both men and women, wherein they be all expert and cunning. In this they be all instructed even from their youth: partly in their schools with traditions and precepts, and partly in the country nigh the city, brought up as it were in playing, not only beholding the use of it, but by occasion of exercising their bodies, practising

* "What sweetnesse thinke we to find in *Husbandrye* and in in the labour of the rusticall state, the whiche seemeth sweete, luckie, peaceable, simple, and innocent: Many Patiarkes and Prophets have chosen this kinde of living, as that in which there is least guile or deceite; also, many Roman emperors have, in times past, left their pallaices, capitalls, arckes, triumphes, glorious and faire buildings and empires, with all the rest of their worldlie majestie, for to remaine in the fieldes, to till and labour with their own handes the earth, trees and garden!"

Theatre or Rule of the World, p. 74. edit. 1581.

it also. Besides husbandry, which (as I said) is common to them all, every one of them learneth one or other several and particular science, as his own proper craft. That is, most commonly, either cloth-working in wool or flax, or masonry, or the smith's craft, or the carpenter's science: for there is none other occupation that any number, to speak of, doth use there.

For their *Garments*, these throughout all the island be of one fashion; (saving that there is a difference between the man's garment and the woman's; between the married and the unmarried); and this one continueth for evermore unchanged, seemly and comely to the eye, no let to the moving and * welding of the body, also fit both for winter and summer: as for these garments (I say), every family maketh their own. But of the other foresaid crafts, every man learneth one: and

* "Weld," is said by Johnson to mean the beating of one mass into another, "so as to incorporate them." Mr. Todd, in his edition of Spencer, applies to it the meaning of "wield"—Warton and Upton being quoted in support of it.

not only the men but also the women. But the women, as the weaker sort, be put to the easier crafts: as to work wool and flax.* The more laboursome sciences be committed to the men. For the most part, every man is brought up in his father's craft: for most commonly they be naturally thereto bent and inclined. But if a man's mind stand to any other, he is by adoption put into a family of that occupation which he doth most fancy. Whom not only his father, but also the magistrate do diligently look to, that he be put to a discreet and an honest householder. Yea, and if any person, when he hath learned one craft, be desirous to learn also another, he is

* This very ancient occupation of women is mentioned by Homer. Hector is made thus to address his wife Andromache;

Ἀλλ' εἰς οἶκον ἰοῦσα τὰ ϛαυτῆς ἔργα κόμιζε
Ἰϛόν τ', ἠλακάτην τε.——Iliad. lib. vi. v. 490,1.

"——hasten to thy tasks at home,
There guide the spindle, and direct the loom."
Pope's transl.

"Hence, then, to our abode; there weave or spin,
And task thy maidens." Cowper's do.

likewise suffered and permitted. When he hath learned both, he occupieth whether he will: unless the city hath more need of the one than the other. The chief and almost the only office of the *Siphogrants* is, to see and take heed that no man sit idle: but that every one apply his own craft with earnest diligence. And yet for all that, not to be wearied from early in the morning to late in the evening, with continual work, like labouring and toiling beasts. For this is worse than the miserable and wretched condition of bondmen.

Which nevertheless is almost every where the life of workmen and artificers, saving in *Utopia*. For they dividing the day and the night into twenty-four just hours, appoint and assign only six of those hours to work before noon, upon the which they go straight to dinner, and after dinner, when they have rested two hours, then they work three hours, and upon that they go to supper. About eight of the clock in the evening (counting one of the clock the first hour after noon) they go to bed: eight hours they give

to sleep. All the void time that is between the hours of work, sleep, and meat, that they be suffered to bestow every man as he liketh best himself. Not to the intent that they should mispend this time in riot, or slothfulness, but being then licensed from the labour of their own occupations, to bestow the time well and thriftily upon some other science, as shall please them: for it is a solemn custom there, to have lectures daily, early in the morning: whereto they only be constrained to be present that be chosen and appointed to learning. Howbeit a great multitude of every sort of people, both men and women, go to hear lectures,* some one and some another, as every man's nature is

* The above plan of giving lectures is now *realised* in this country, by the establishment of the ROYAL INSTITUTION, in Albemarle Street, London. It was at first the fashion to ridicule any thing which savoured of the learning of a *Metropolitan University;* but experience has shewn that these lectures have been productive of solid entertainment and extensive good. The first characters in the country, both *male* and *female*, for rank and talent, have attended them—and the LECTURERS who are appointed to read (generally for the space of three quarters of an hour,

inclined. Yet this notwithstanding, if any man had rather bestow this time upon his own occupation, as it chanceth in many (whose minds rise not in the contemplation of any science liberal), he is not letted or prohibited, but is also praised and commended, as profitable to the common-wealth. After supper they bestow one hour in play: in summer, in their gardens: in winter, in their common halls, where they dine and sup. There they exercise themselves in music, or else in honest and wholesome communication. Dice-play, and such other foolish and pernicious games, they know not; but they use two games, not much unlike the chess.*

to an audience of from three to seven hundred people) are gentlemen who have been brought up at our Universities, or who have distinguished themselves by their attainments in particular arts or sciences. I recommend the reader to peruse some excellent observations upon this Institution, which appeared in the Critical Review for September, 1807 —as preliminary remarks to a review of Dr. Young's elaborate and truly valuable "Lectures on Natural Philosophy, and the Mechanical Arts," 4to. 2 vols. 1807.

* The respect which More shews for this admirable game is not to be wondered at. King's, philosophers, warriors, poets, scholars, have all been enamoured of it;—

The one is the battle of numbers, wherein one number stealeth away another. The other is where vices fight with virtues, as it were in battle array, or a set field. In the which game is very properly shewed, both the strife and discord that the vices have among themselves, and again, their unity and concord against virtues. And also what vices be repugnant to what virtues: with what power and strength they assail them openly: by what wiles and subtilty they assault

and a little volume of amusing anecdotes might be composed of its fascinating effects—but enough of these have been already before the public.—I will here only observe, that the first book written upon it, in *our language*, was by "William Caxton," who printed the same in the year 1474; and again, without date, with a number of curious wood cuts. Caxton's work is a translation from the French of Iehan De Vignay, who, in turn, is supposed to have translated it from the Latin of Jacobus de Cœsollis, which was probably first composed about the beginning of the 13th century. The principal, if not the only book on Chess in the *Spanish* language is a 4to one of three hundred pages, by R. L. De Sigura, printed in 1561. Carrera's book is the celebrated *Italian* one: it is in 4to. 1617, and is full of information. A copy of it is in the British Museum. His Majesty possesses both the books printed by Caxton.

them secretly: with what help and aid the virtues resist and overcome the puissance * of the vices: by what craft they frustrate their purposes: and finally by what sleight or means the one getteth the victory. But here, lest you be deceived, one thing you must look more narrowly upon. For seeing they bestow but six hours in work, perchance you may think that the lack of some necessary things hereof may ensue. But this is nothing so; for that small time is not only enough, but also too much for the store and abundance of all things that be requisite, either for the necessity or commodity of life. The which thing you also shall perceive, if you weigh and consider with yourselves how great a part of the people in other countries liveth idle. First, almost all women,† which

* In Robinson's translation of the Utopia, probably, the English word *puissance* first appeared; which Johnson intimates is pronounced as if it were of two syllables. The elegant author of the "Pleasures of Hope" has divided it into three;

"Yet for Sarmatia's tears of blood atone,
And make her arm *puissant* as your own."

† This is not generally true. The greater part of the more *uncivilised* countries of the world afford instances rather of the

be the half of the whole number: or else, if the women be somewhere occupied, there most commonly in their stead the men be idle. Besides this, how great and how idle a company is there of priests and religious men, as they call them; put thereto all rich men, specially all landed men, which commonly be called gentlemen and noblemen —take into this number also their servants: I mean all that flock of stout bragging rushbucklers.* Join to them also sturdy and valiant beggars, cloaking their idle life under the colour of some disease or sickness.

And truly you shall find them much fewer than you thought, by whose labour all these

activity of women and indolence of men, than of the contrary. In ENGLAND, it seems superfluous to mention the well-known industry of *the female character*—industry, which is directed to all the amiable and virtuous ends of human existence! Thomson, in his Seasons (Autumn, v. 579.) will furnish the reader with a correct picture of his country-women.

* "Illam cetratorum nebulonum colluviem"—literally, "that rabble or multitude of bullying fellows dressed up with swords,"—alluding to the custom of servants then wearing scymitars or swords, (vide ante, vol. i. p. 54. note.)

things are wrought, that in men's affairs are now daily used and frequented. Now consider with yourself, of these few that do work, how few be occupied in necessary work? For where money beareth all the swing,* there many vain and superfluous occupations must needs be used to serve only for riotous superfluity, and unhonest pleasure: for the same multitude that now is occupied in work, if they were divided into so few occupations, as the necessary use of nature requireth, in so great plenty of things as then of necessity would ensue, doubtless the prices would be too little for the artificers to maintain their livings.

Burnet and Warner tamely say, "idle persons that are kept more for shew than use." The French translation, which is in this place sufficiently paraphrastic, says here, however, properly enough—"toute cette canaille de Valets armez."

The above expression "rushbucklers," which seems to have been coined on purpose for the Latin phrase "cetratorum nebulonum"—meaning that the servants bucklers were as flimsey as rushes—is, I believe, to be found in few authors of the 16th century.

* Johnson has not given us this illustration of the word swing—it means "*sway*."

But if all these, that be now busied about unprofitable occupations, with all the whole flock of them that live idly and slothfully, which consume and waste every one of them more of these things that come by other men's labour, than two of the workmen themselves do: if all these (I say) were set to profitable occupations, you easily perceive how little time would be enough, yea, and too much, to store us with all things that may be requisite either for necessity or commodity, yea or for pleasure, so that the same pleasure be true and natural. And this in *Utopia* the thing itself maketh manifest and plain. For there, in all the city, with the whole country or shire adjoining to it, scarcely five hundred persons of all the whole number of men and women, that be neither too old nor too weak to work, be licensed and discharged from labour. Among them be the *Siphogrants* (who though they be by the laws exempt and privileged from labour) yet they exempt not themselves: to the intent they may the rather by their example provoke others to work.

The same vacation from labour do they also enjoy, to whom the people, persuaded by the commendation of the priests, and secret election of the *Siphogrants*, have given a perpetual license, from labour to learning. But if any one of them prove not according to the expectation and hope of him conceived, he is forthwith plucked back to the company of artificers: and contrarywise. And often it chanceth that a handycraftsman doth so earnestly bestow his vacant and spare hours in learning, and through diligence so profiteth therein, that he is taken from his handy occupation, and promoted to the company of the learned. Out of this order of the learned be chosen ambassadors, priests, Tranibores, and finally the prince himself. Whom they in their old tongue call *Barzanes*, and by a newer name *Adamus*.

The residue of the people being neither idle, nor yet occupied about unprofitable exercises, it may be easily judged in how few hours how much good work by them may be done and dispatched, towards those

things that I have spoken off. This commodity they have also above other, that in the most part of necessary occupations they need not so much work as other nations do. For first of all, the building or repairing of houses asketh every where so many men's continual labour, because that the unthrifty heir suffereth the houses that his father builded, in continuance of time to fall in decay. So that which he might have upholden with little cost, his successor is constrained to build it again a new to his great charge. Yea many times also, the house that stood one man in much money—another is of so nice and so delicate a mind, that he setteth nothing by it! and it being neglected, and therefore shortly falling into ruin, he buildeth up another in another place with no less cost and charge.

But among the *Utopians*, where all things be set in good order, and the commonwealth in a good stay, it seldom chanceth that they choose a new plot to build an house upon. And they do not only find speedy and quick remedies for present

faults; but also prevent them that be like to fall. And by this means, their houses continue and last very long with little labour and small reparations; insomuch, that these kind of workmen sometimes have almost nothing to do. But then they be commanded to hew timber at home, and to square and trim up stones, to the intent that, if any work chance, it may the speedilier rise.

Now, Sir, in their *apparel*,* mark (I pray you) how few workmen they need. First of all, whilst they be at work, they be covered homely with leather or skins, that will last seven years. When they go forth abroad, they cast upon them a cloak which hideth the other homely apparel. These cloaks throughout the whole island be all of one colour, and that is the natural colour of the wool. They therefore do not only spend much less woollen cloth, than is spent in other countries, but also the same standeth them in much less cost. But linen cloth is made with much less labour, and is therefore had more in use. But in linen

* See vol. i. p. 54. 64. note.

cloth, only whiteness—in woollen, only cleanliness—is regarded. As for the smallness or fineness of the thread, that is nothing passed for. And this is the cause wherefore in other places, four or five cloth gowns of divers colours, and as many silk coats, be not enough for one man. Yea, and if he be of the delicate and nice sort, ten be too few: whereas there one garment will serve a man most commonly two years: for why should he desire more? seeing if he had them, he should not be the better hapt* or covered from cold—neither in his apparel any whit the comlier! Wherefore seeing they be all exercised in profitable occupations, and that few artificers in the same crafts be sufficient: this is the cause that plenty of all things be among them. They do sometimes bring forth an innumerable company of people to amend the highways, if any be broken. Many times also, when they have no such work to be occupied about, an open proclamation is made that they shall bestow fewer hours in work: for

* *Conditioned:* from hap, chance, fortune.

the magistrates do not exercise their citizens against their wills in unneedful labours. For why,* in the institution of the weal-public, this end is only and chiefly pretended and minded—that what time may possibly be spared from the necessary occupations and affairs of the common-wealth, all *that* the citizens should withdraw from the bodily service to the free liberty of the mind, and garnishing of the same. For herein they suppose the felicity of this life to consist.

* *Because.*

CHAPTER V.

Domestic Life and Character of the Utopians.

But now will I declare how the citizens use themselves one to another: what familiar occupying and entertainment, there is among the people, and what fashion they use in the distribution of every thing.

First, the city consisteth of families: the families most commonly be made of kindreds. For the women when they be married at a lawful age, they go into their husbands houses. But the male children, with all the whole male offspring continue still in their own family, and be governed of the eldest and ancientest father, unless he dote * for age: for then the next to him in age is placed in his room. But to the intent the prescript number of the citizens should neither decrease, nor above measure increase; it is ordained that no family, which in every city be six thousand in the whole, besides them of the country,

* Unless he be *impaired in intellect on account of age:* the above mode of expression is very uncommon.

shall at once have fewer children of the age of fourteen years or thereabout, than ten, or more than sixteen; for of children under this age, no number can be prescribed or appointed. This measure or number is easily observed and kept, by putting them, that in fuller families be above the number, into families of smaller increase. But if chance be, that in the whole city the store increase above the just number, therewith they fill up the lack of other cities. But if so be that the whole multitude throughout the whole island, pass and exceed the due number, then they choose out of every city, certain citizens, and build up a town under their own laws in the next land, where the inhabitants have much waste and unoccupied ground, receiving also of the same country people to them, if they will join and dwell with them. They, thus joining and dwelling together, do easily agree in one fashion of living, and that to the great wealth of both the people: for they so bring the matter about by their laws, that the ground, which before was neither good nor profitable for the one nor for the

other, is now sufficient and fruitful enough for them both. But if the inhabitants of the land will not dwell with them to be ordered by their laws, then they drive them out of those bounds which they have limited and appointed out for themselves.

And if they resist and rebel, then they make war against them. For they count this the most just cause of war—when any people holdeth a piece of ground void and vacant to no good nor profitable use; keeping other from the use and possession of it, which, notwithstanding, by the law of nature, ought thereof to be nourished and relieved. If any chance do so much diminish the number of any of their cities, that it cannot be filled up again, without the diminishing of the just number of the other cities (which they say chanced but twice since the beginning of the land, through a great pestilent plague), then they fulfil and make up the number with citizens fetched out of their own foreign towns; for they had rather suffer their foreign towns to decay and perish, than any city of their own

island to be diminished. But now again to the conversation of the citizens among themselves.

The eldest (as I said) ruleth the family. The wives be ministers to their husbands, the children to their parents,* and, to be short, the younger to their elders. Every city is divided into four equal parts or quarters. In the midst of every quarter there is a market place of all manner of things. Thither the works of every family be brought into certain houses: and every kind of thing is laid up several† in barns or storehouses. From hence the father of every family, or every householder, fetcheth whatsoever he and his have need of, and carrieth it away with him without money, without exchange, without any gage, pawn, or pledge. For why should any thing be denied unto him,

* More had the highest opinion, and was himself a most striking example, of filial obedience. When he was Lord Chancellor, and met his father, Sir John More, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, in Westminster Hall, in his way to the Court of Chancery—he would fall upon his knees and beg his blessing—insisting, too, upon the precedence of his father.

† *Separately.*

seeing there is abundance of all things? and that it is not to be feared lest any man will ask more than he needeth! For why should it be thought that that man would ask more than enough, which is sure never to lack? Certainly, in all kinds of living creatures, either fear of lack doth cause covetousness and ravin—or in man, only pride—which counteth it a glorious thing to pass and excel other in the superfluous and vain ostentation of things. The which kind of vice among the *Utopians* can have no place. Next to the market-places that I speak of, stand Meat-markets: whither be brought, not only all sorts of herbs, and the fruits of trees, with bread—but also fish, and all manner of four-footed beasts, and wild fowl, that be man's meat. But first the filthiness and ordure thereof is clean washed away in the running river without the city, in places appointed meet for the same purpose. From thence the beasts be brought in killed, and clean washed by the hands of their bondmen: for they permit not their free citizens to accustom themselves to the killing of beasts, through the use whereof, they think clemency,

the gentlest affection of our nature, by little and little to decay and perish. Neither they suffer any thing that is filthy, loathsome, or uncleanly, to be brought into the city, lest the air by stench thereof, infected and corrupt, should cause pestilent diseases. Moreover, every street hath certain great large halls set in equal distance one from another, every one known by a several name. In these halls dwell the *Siphogrants*. And to every one of the same halls be appointed thirty families, on either side, fifteen. The stewards of every hall, at a certain hour, come into the meat markets, where they receive meat according to the number of their halls.

But first and chiefly of all, respect is had to the sick, that be cured in the hospitals. For in the circuit of the city, a little without the walls, they have four hospitals, so big, so wide, so ample, and so large, that they may seem four little towns, which were devised of that bigness, partly to the intent the sick, be they never so many in number, should not lie too throng or strait, and therefore uneasily and incommodiously: and partly that they,

which were taken and holden with contagious diseases, such as be wont by infection to creep from one to another, might be laid afar from the company of the residue.

These hospitals * be so well appointed, and with all things necessary to health so furnished, and moreover so diligent attendance through the continual presence of cunning † physicians is given, that though no man be sent thither against his will, yet, notwithstanding, there is no sick person in all the city that had not rather lie there than at home at his own house. When the steward of the sick hath received such meats as the physicians have prescribed, then the best is equally divided among the halls according to the company

* The Utopians management of their sick is very judicious. Although the hospitals in London are spacious and airy, they are, in too many instances, surrounded by houses: this is not the fault of their founders, but the effect of an increased population, and a consequent necessity of building. Qu. however, whether a law to prevent building within a certain distance from an hospital, might not be the means of sometimes preventing the propagation of epidemic diseases?

† The old expression for *expert—skilful.*

of every one; saving there is had a respect to the Prince, the Bishop, the *Tranibores*, and to ambassadors and all strangers, if there be any, which be very few and seldom. But they also, when they be there, have certain several houses appointed and prepared for them. To these halls, at the set hours of dinner and supper, cometh all the *Siphogranty* or ward, warned by the noise of a brazen trumpet; except such as be sick in the hospitals, or else in their own houses.

Howbeit, no man is prohibited or forbid, after the halls be served, to fetch home meat out of the market to his own house; for they know that no man will do it without a reasonable cause. For though no man be prohibited to dine at home, yet no man doth it willingly; because it is counted a point of small honesty. And also it were a folly to take the pain to dress a bad dinner at home, when they may be welcome to good and fine fare so nigh hand at the hall.

In this hall, all vile service, and all slavery, with all laboursome toil, and drudgery, and base business, is done by bondmen. But the

women of every family by course have the office and charge of cookery for seething*

* *Boiling.* More was probably unacquainted with the superiority of *Men-Cooks:* in the present times, and especially in the houses of the great and affluent, it may be questioned whether, next to the master and his family, there be a more important inmate than the *Man-Cook*—whose chief excellence seems to consist in a thorough knowledge of the arcana of *French Cookery?!* The facetious Sir Thomas Overbury has given us an admirable character of a French Cook, about two hundred years ago, which is not much unlike that of the present race of them.

"*A French Cook.*"

He learnt his trade in a towne of garison near farmish't, where hee practised to make a little go farre; some derive it from more antiquity, and say, *Adam* (when he pickt sallets) was of his occupation. He doth not feed the belly, but the palate; and though his command lie in the kitchen [which is but an inferiour place] yet shall you find him a very sawcy companion. Ever since the wars in Naples, he hath so minc't the ancient and bountifull allowance, as if his nation should keepe a perpetual diet. The servingmen call him "*the last relique of Popery,*" that makes men fast against their conscience. He can be truely said to be no man's felow but his master's; for the rest of his servants are starved by him. He is the prime cause why noblemen build their houses so great; for the smalnesse of their kitchen makes the house the bigger; and the Lord calls him his "*Alchymist,*" that can extract gold out of hearbes, rootes,

and dressing the meat, and ordering all things thereto belonging. They sit at three tables or more, according to the number of their company. The men sit upon the bench next the wall, and the women against them on the other side of the table; and if any sudden evil should chance to them, as many times happeneth to women with child, they may rise without trouble or disturbance of any body, and go thence into the nursery.* The nurses sit several alone with their young sucklings, in a certain parlour appointed and deputed to the same purpose—never without

mushroomes, or any thing—that which he dresses, we may rather call a drinking than a meal; yet he is so full of vanity, that he brags (and truly), that he gives you but *a taste* of what he can doe! He dare not for his life come among the butchers; for sure they would quarter and bake him after the English fashion, he's such an enemy to beef and mutton! To conclude, he were only fit to make a funeral feast, where men should eat their victuals in mourning!" Characters, edit. 1630.

* There is great delicacy and good sense in the order observed by the Utopians relating to the women. From a man who wore a hair shirt next his breast, as More did, it is not always that we obtain such wise maxims about cleanliness, &c.

fire and clean water, nor yet without cradles; that when they will, they may lay down the young infants, and at their pleasure take them out of their swathing cloaths, and hold them to the fire, and refresh them with *

* The natural benevolence and parental tenderness of More's disposition, are strongly evinced in this part of the Utopia, where he lays down laws for the management of *Children*. How beautiful and how just are the sentiments of Boiastuau on this subject! "Nature (says he) can give us but one father and one mother, but matrimony representeth many in our children; the whiche do reverence and honour us, who are more deare than our proper bowels. Being young and little, they play, prattle, laugh, and shew as many apish toyes; they prepare us an infinite number of plesures; it seemeth that they are recreations and pastimes that nature hath given us, for to deceive and passe awaye part of our miserable lyfe: if we be vexed with age, [a thing common to all] they solace the discommoditie of our age, close our eyes, and bring us to the earth from whence we came: they are our bones, our flesh, and blood; seeing them, we see ourselves—in such sort, that the father seeing his children may be assured that he seeth his lyvely youth renued in the face of his children, in whom we are regenerate and borne again—in such sort, that, age is not grievous unto us; beholdng the mirrors or similitudes of our selves, that elevate the memorie of us, and make us almost immortal." *Theatre or Rule of the World*, p. 128,9.

play. EVERY MOTHER IS NURSE TO HER OWN CHILD, UNLESS EITHER DEATH, OR SICKNESS, BE THE LET.* When that chanceth, the wives of the *Siphogrants* quickly provide a nurse. And that is not hard to be done, for they that can do it, proffer themselves to no service so gladly as to that. Because that there, this kind of pity is much praised: and the child that is nourished, ever after taketh his nurse for his own natural mother. Also among the nurses, sit all the children that be under the age of five years. All the other children of both kinds, as well boys as girls, that be under the age of marriage, do either serve at the tables, or else if they be too young thereto, they stand by with marvellous silence. That which is given to them from the table they eat, and other several dinner time they have none. The *Siphogrant* and his wife sit in the midst of the high table, for as much as that is counted the honourablest place, and because from thence, all the whole company is in their sight. For that table standeth

* I have marked this passage in capital letters, for reasons which some female readers will immediately perceive and approve.

overthwart the over end of the hall. To them be joined two of the ancientest and eldest. For at every table they sit four at a mess.* But if there be a church standing in that Siphogranty, or ward, then the priest and his wife † sitteth with the Siphogrant, as chief in the company. On both sides of them sit young men, and next unto them again, old men. And thus throughout all the house,

* Qu. how far More has made his Utopians, in this instance, imitate the custom observed at the Inn of Court (Lincoln's Inn) where he was himself brought up? The students always dine "four at a mess?"

† "It is plain from the author's giving the priest a wife in this place, that, contrary to the superstition of his own religion, he was a friend to the marriage of ecclesiastics. If he did not penetrate into the secret reason of the see of Rome for decreeing their celibacy—as perhaps he did not—yet the visible designs of that court, and the known wickedness and ambition of those prelates who promoted it, must have convinced him that holiness and purity were the things considered in the canon on that subject. He could not but know too, that the law of CHRIST had not abridged them of the right which was given them by the law of nature; and that any power forbidding what the natural law had allowed, had been foretold as one of the marks of the antichristian spirit." WARNER.

equal of age be set together, and yet be mixt and matched with unequal ages.

This, they say, was ordained, to the intent that the sage gravity and reverence of the elders should keep the youngers from wanton license of words and behaviour: for as much as nothing can be so secretly spoken or done at the table, but either they that sit on the one side or on the other, must needs perceive it. The dishes be not set down in order from the first place, but all the old men (whose places be marked with some special token to be known) be first served of their meat, and then the residue, equally. The old men divide their dainties, as they think best, to the younger on each side of them. Thus the elders be not defrauded of their due honour, and nevertheless equal commodity cometh to every one. They begin every dinner and supper with reading something that pertaineth to good manners and virtue. But it is short, because no man shall be grieved therewith. Hereof the elders take occasion of honest communication, but neither sad nor unplesant. Howbeit, they

do not spend all the whole dinner time themselves with long and tedious talk, but they gladly hear also the young men: yea, and purposely provoke them to talk, to the intent that they may have a proof of every man's wit, and towardness, or disposition to virtue; which commonly in the liberty of feasting, doth shew and utter itself.* Their dinners be very short; but their suppers be somewhat longer,† because that after dinner followeth

* The old maxim, "*In vino veritas,*" was here, probably, in the recollection of More: so true is it, that the feelings of the human heart, and all the native frankness of the soul, seem to display themselves spontaneously in the social hour of festivity and merriment!

† "Concernyng the generall usage of countries (says Sir Thomas Elyot, in his Castell of Helth), and admittyng the bodies to be in perfect state of health, I suppose that, in England, yong men untill they come to the age of x yeres, may well eat thre meales in one daie, as at breakefast, dyner, and supper; so that betwene breakfast and diner, be the space of iiii houres at the lest; betwene diner and supper vi houres." fol. 42. b. edit. 1541. This was probably the custom observed in England when More wrote his Utopia; for Sir Thomas Elyot composed this curious (and now very scarce) little book at the commencement of the 16th century. If this custom were now to be observed,

labour; after supper, sleep and natural rest; which they think to be of more strength and efficacy to wholesome and healthful digestion. No supper is passed without music.‡ Nor

the supper would take place between the hours of 10 and 12 at night; allowing the general dinner hour, among the most respectable classes of society, to be from 4 to 6 o'clock. But, in fact, the dinner is *now* made the supper too: this latter meal, professedly as such, being rarely introduced.

‡ MORE was passionately fond of *music;* and he takes occasion in this place to evince his love of it, by making it, rather than the drinking of strong liquors, the exhilarator of the spirits. "More sometimes recreated his tired spirits on the viol; perfecting himself in most of the liberal sciences, as *Music,*" &c. "His first wife, which was but young, he caused to be instructed in learning, and to be taught *all kind of music.*" The principal recreations of his family were "either *music of voices, or viols;* for which cause he procured his [second] wife to play thereon, to draw her mind from the world," &c. More's Life of his Great-grandfather, 4to edit. 54, 121, 127.

Vocal and instrumental music seem to have been fashionable at this period, and especially at court. "King Henry the Eight (says Peacham) could not only sing his part sure, but of himself compose a service of foure, five, and sixe parts; as Erasmus, in a certaine epistle, testifieth of his owne knowledge." In Farrag. Epist. See Peacham's "Compleat Gentleman," p. 99. edit. 1661.

their banquets want no conceits, nor junkets.* They burn sweet gums and spices or perfumes, and pleasant smells, and sprinkle about sweet ointments and waters, yea, they have nothing undone that maketh for the cherishing† of the company. For they be much

* "Nec ullis caret secunda mensa belariis," "and there is always fruit served up after dinner," say Burnet and Warner. "On y a au dessert, says the French translator, toute sorte de confitures et de friandises," which is similar to the above; "nor their bankettes lacke no conceytes nor junckettes" ed. 1551. Conceits, comfits, or junkets, mean *sweatmeats;* each word being a translation of "bellaria,"—"dried fruits or roots preserved with sugar." See Skinner and Junius: the latter has a curious illustration of it.

Sweatmeats were a favourite dish with our ancestors, and were generally eaten before, or during, dinner with other meats. Sir Thomas Elyot, tells us, that "Fruites confectionate, specially with hony, are not to be eaten with other meates." A little further, he advises his reader to "take hede that slippery meates be not fiyrste eaten, nor that stiptik nor restraining meates be taken at the begynning; as quynces, peares, and medlars." Castell of Helth, fol. 45. 6.

† Our author appears to have been a liberally-minded man in his ideas of social entertainment. In his practice, as regarded himself, he was abstemious and simple

inclined to this opinion: to think no kind of pleasure forbidden, whereof cometh no harm. Thus, therefore, and after this sort, they live together in the city; but in the country, they that dwell alone, far from any neighbours, do dine at home in their own houses: for no family there lacketh any victuals, as from whom cometh all that the citizens eat and live by.†

to a degree. "He used to eate at his meales but of one dish, which was *powdered biefe*, or some such like salt meate, although his table was furnished with much varietie; and what meate he first tasted on, the same would he for that time make his whole refection of. In his youth, he abstained from wine; and in his later yeares, he would taste thereof, but first it must be well alayed with water." More's Life of his Great Grandfather, 4to. edit. 42.

† The antiquary will view, throughout the whole, *dinner and supper arrangement* of the Utopians, a faithful picture of the customs of the times: which are thus related by Dr. Henry, from the best authorities—and which are too amusing to be withheld from the curious reader.

"The *Cookery of the English* at this period cannot now be appreciated, or distinguished otherwise than by a profusion of hot spices with which every dish was indiscriminately seasoned. Dinner and supper were served in the hall, where the first was placed in a sort of recess, or elevation, at the upper end, and reserved for the landlord and

his principal guests, while visitors less respectable were seated with the officers of the household at long and narrow tables that occupied the sides and the middle of the hall. The rank of the guests was again discriminated in their arrangement, by their situation above or below the *salt-cellar;* which was placed invariably in the middle of the table, and the usher was carefully instructed to displace such as might seat themselves unmannerly above their betters. The chief servants attended always above the salt-cellar; beneath which the table was probably crowded with poor dependants, whom the guests despised, and the servants neglected. The servants were marshalled, and the dishes served, by orders issued aloud from the usher; and at table none presumed to taste of the dishes, till they were drawn successively upwards to the principal personage, from whom they descended again to the rest of the company. Churchmen affected peculiar ceremony, and the Abbot of St. Alban's dined with greater state than the nobility themselves. His table was elevated fifteen steps above the hall, and, in serving his dinner, the monks, at every fifth step, performed a hymn. He dined alone at the middle of his table, to the ends of which guests of distinguished rank were admitted; and the monks, after their attendance on the abbot was over, sat down to tables at the sides of the hall, and were served with equal respect by the novices. At Wolsey's entertainment of the French ambassadors, the company was summoned by trumpet to supper, and the courses were announced by a prelude of music. The second course contained upwards of an hundred devices or subtilties; castles, churches, animals, warriors justing on foot and on horseback; others dancing

with ladies, " all as well counterfeited, says the historian, (Stowe), as the painter should have painted on a cloth or wall." Such entertainments were not of short duration; the dinner hour was eleven in the forenoon, the supper six in the evening; but the dinner was often prolonged till supper, and that protracted till late at night." Hist. of Great Britain xii. 376, &c. [Holingshed, 166, 170. Antiq. Repert, vol. iii. 61. 154. 186. Warton's Hist. Eng. Poet. vol. iii. 343. n. Northumberland Household Book — all quoted by Dr. Henry.] This latter authority is a very rare and curious performance, giving an account of the Earl of Northumberland's household establishment in 1512. It was edited by Dr. Percy, Bishop of Dromore, in 8vo. 1770, and printed only for private circulation. See Bibl. Stevens. N. 1710.

It would appear from Harrison, that the *sumptuous fare* of our ancestors in the 16th century operated as a curious contrast to the *meanness of their houses*. " Certes (says he) this rude kind of building made the Spaniards in Queen Mary's days to wonder; but chiefly when they saw what *large diet* was used in many of these so *homely cottages;* insomuch that one, of no small reputation among them, said after this manner: " The Englishmen, quoth he, have their houses made of sticks and dirt, but they fare commonly as well as the king!" p. 187; quoted in Mr. Ellis's Spec. Eng. Poet. vol. i. 322, 3.

CHAPTER VI.

Modes of Travelling, &c.

But if any be desirous to visit either their friends dwelling in another city, or to see the place itself, they easily obtain license of the *Siphogrants* and *Tranibores*, unless there be some profitable let. No man goeth out alone, but a company is sent forth, together with their prince's letters, who do testify that they have license to go that journey, and prescribeth also the day of their return.

They have a wain* given them, with a common bondman, which driveth the oxen, and taketh charge of them. But unless they have women in their company, they send home the wain again, as an impediment and let. And though they carry nothing forth with them, yet in all their journey they lack nothing. For wheresoever they come, they be AT HOME.† If they tarry in a place longer

* A contraction of *waggon*; the word is used by Spenser. See Johnson's Dictionary in loc.

† "Ubique enim DOMI sunt:" a constituent part of a per-

than one day, then there every one of them falleth to his own occupation, and be very gently entertained of the workmen and companies of the same crafts. If any man of his own head and without leave, walk out of his precinct and bounds, and be taken without the Prince's letters, he is brought again for a fugitive, or a run-away, with great shame and rebuke, and is sharply punished If he be taken in that fault again, he is punished with bondage. If any be desirous to walk abroad into the fields, or into the country that belongeth to the same city that he dwelleth in, obtaining

fect commonwealth, and one of the chief sources of human happiness. A great portion of the wretchedness of society consists in the ridiculous forms and ceremonies of *visiting*. Perhaps our posterity, some 200 years hence, may be surprised to find that being "AT HOME" now means a preparation to receive more visitors than the apartments will hold. When rooms are crammed to suffocation, it is then, emphatically, or rather fashionably, speaking, that the good lady of the house (see her, or catch her, if you can!) is enjoying the comforts of HOME! To be more explicit, when a card of invitation is now sent out, with two monosyllables upon it, "AT HOME," it is an intimation that the mistress of this home is anxious to enjoy a *little domestic circle* of about 2 or 3, or 500 finely dressed ladies and gentlemen!

the good will of his father, and the consent of his wife,* he is not prohibited. But unto what part of the country soever he cometh, he hath no meat given him until he have wrought out his forenoon's task, or dispatched so much work as there is wont to be wrought before supper. Observing this law and condition, he may go whither he will, within the bounds of his own city: for he shall be no less profitable to the city, than if he were within it. Now you see how little liberty they have to loiter; how they can have no cloak or pretence to idleness.

There be neither wine-taverns, nor ale-houses, † nor stews, nor any occasion of vice

* The complaisance of the Utopians towards their wives is truly exemplary. I fear the Europeans do not in every respect imitate their example!

† "Without going the author's length in extinguishing all property, it is incontestibly to be demonstrated, even under our own establishment in this nation, that a great part of the degeneracy we complain of, arises from *the vast number of taverns and ale-houses that are tolerated, for the sake of the tax which is paid for a licence.* The morals of our people are not only corrupted in these places, by their loose and idle conversation, and the excesses which are committed in them, but the whole profits of their shops and

or wickedness, no lurking corners, no places

labour, which should support their families, are often swallowed up there; to the destruction of their own health, the misery of their wives and children, and at last to the ruin of them all. WARNER.

How forcibly have these vices been delineated by the original pencil of COWPER—and in what strong language has this *excise-tax* been reprobated!

Pass where we may, through city or through town,
Village, or hamlet, of this merry land,
Though lean and beggar'd—every twentieth pace
Conducts the unguarded nose to such a whiff
Of stale debauch, forth issuing from the styes
That *law has licensed*, as makes temperance reel.
\- - - - - - - - - -
The *Excise* is fattened with the rich result
Of all this riot; and ten thousand casks,
For ever dribbling out their base contents,
Touched by the Midas-finger of the state,
Bleed gold for ministers to sport away.
Drink and be mad, then! 'Tis your country bids!
Gloriously drink, obey the important call!
Her cause demands the assistance of your throats,
Ye all can swallow, and she asks no more.

TASK, book iv.

The vice of *Drinking* does not seem to have ceased, or abated even, in this country, in consequence of the rebukes of our legislative philosopher. The middle and close of the sixteenth century were as remarkable for hard drinking as the opening of it. George Gascoigne, who in

of wicked counsels or unlawful assemblies, but they be in the present sight, and under the eyes of every man. So that of necessity they must either apply their accustomed labours, or else recreate themselves with honest and laudable pastimes.

the year 1576 wrote a religious tract entitled, "A delicate diet for daintie mouthde droonkardes: wherein the fowle abuse of common carousing, and quaffing with hartie draughtes, is honestlie admonished," draws the following picture of the English at that time. "The Almaines with their small Renish wine are contented; or rather then faile a cup of beere may entreate them to stoupe. But *we* must have Marchbeere, dooble beere, Dagger ale, Bragget, Renish wine, White wine, French wine, Gascoyne wine, Sacke Hollocke, Canaria wine, *Vino greco, Vinum amabile*, and al the wines that may be gotten. Yea, wine of itselfe is not sufficient; but Suger, Limons, and sundry sortes of spices, must be drowned therein." A little further, he tells us that some "nyne draughts, yea nyneteene draughts, nay sometime *nine and twenty* doo not suffice?" See Waldron's Literary Museum, p. 18,19, where this tract is re-printed.

From Henry Peacham, who published the first edition of his "Compleat Gentleman" in 1622, we learn that the English kept up their reputation for drinking at the commencement of the 17th century. "Within these fifty or threescore years (says he) it was a rare thing with us in England to see a drunken man [which, by the bye, contradicts Gas-

This fashion and trade of life being used among the people, it cannot be chosen, but that they must of necessity have store and plenty of all things. And seeing they be all thereof partners equally, therefore can no man there be poor or needy. In the council of Amaurote, whither, as I said, every city sendeth three men a-piece yearly, as soon as it is perfectly known of what things there is in every place, plenty; and again, what things be scant in any place; incontinent, the lack of the one is performed and filled up with the abundance of the other. And this they do freely without any benefit, taking nothing again of them to whom the thing is given; but those cities that have given of their store to any other city that lacketh, requiring

coigne's testimony]; our nation carrying the name of the most sober and temperate of any other in the world; but since we had to do with the quarrel in the *Netherlands*, about the time of *Sir John Norrice* his first being there, the custom of drinking and *pledging healths* was brought over into England; wherein, let the Dutch be their own judges if we equal them not: yea, I think rather excell them." See p. 203. ed. 1627: p. 272 ed. 1661: also the note about "Taverns" in vol. i. 65, 6.

nothing again of the same city, do take such things as they lack of another city to the which they gave nothing. So the whole land is, as it were, one family or household.

When they have made sufficient provision of store for themselves (which they think not done until they have provided for two years following, because of the uncertainty of the next year's proof), then of those things whereof they have abundance, they carry forth into other countries great plenty:- as grain, honey, wool, flax, wood, madder, purple-dyed fells,* wax, tallow, leather, and living beasts. And the seventh part of all these things they give frankly and freely to the poor of that country. The residue they sell at a reasonable and mean price. By this means of traffic or merchandize, they bring into their own country not only great plenty of gold and silver, but also all such things as they lack at home,

* What is here called "madder, and purple-dyed fells" is written thus in the original — "cocci, et conchyliorum, vellerum," &c. which I conceive to be "scarlet, and purple colours, and skins of beasts."—Burnet and Warner have unaccountably overlooked these words.

which is almost nothing but iron. And by reason they have long used this trade, now they have more abundance of these things, than any man will believe.

Now, therefore, they care not whether they sell for ready money, or else upon trust to be paid at a day, and to have the most part in debts. But in so doing they never follow the credence of private men; but the assurance or warranty, of the whole city, by instruments and writings made in that behalf accordingly. When the day of payment is come and expired, the city gathereth up the debt of the private debtors, and putteth it into the common box, and so long hath the use and profit of it, until the *Utopians* their creditors demand it. The most part of it, they never ask. For that thing, which to them is no profit to take from other to whom it is profitable, they think it no right nor conscience. But if the case so stand, that they must lend part of that money to another people, then they require their debt; or when they have war. For the which purpose only, they keep at home all the treasure which they

have to be holpen and succoured by it, either in extreme jeopardies, or in sudden dangers. But especially and chiefly to hire therewith, and that for unreasonable great wages, strange soldiers. For they had rather put strangers in jeopardy, than their own countrymen: knowing that for money enough, their enemies themselves many times may be bought and sold, or else, through treason, be set together by the ears among themselves. For this cause they keep an inestimable treasure; but yet not as treasure. But so they have it, and use it, as, in goodfaith, I am ashamed to shew: fearing that my words shall not be believed.* And this I have more cause to fear, for that I know how difficultly and hardly I myself would have believed another man telling the same, if I had not presently seen it with mine eyes.

For it must needs be, that, how far a thing is dissonant† and disagreeing from the guise and trade of the hearers, so far shall it be

* The translator ALSOP places this marginal note opposite—"*O fine wit!*"

† Johnson cites no authority so ancient as this for an illustration of the word "dissonant."

out of their belief. Howbeit, a wise and indifferent esteemer of things, will not greatly marvel, perchance, seeing all their other laws and customs do so much differ from ours, if the use also of gold and silver among them, be applied rather to their own fashions, than to ours. I mean, in that they occupy not money themselves, but keep it for that chance, which, as it may happen, so it may be that it shall never come to pass. In the mean time, gold and silver, whereof money is made, they do so use, as none of them doth more esteem it than the very nature of the thing deserved.

And then, who doth not plainly see how far it is under* iron? as without the which, men can no better live than without fire and

* *Inferior to.* More afforded, in his own example, an excellent illustration of the above sentiments respecting the right use of money. No man before, or after, him ever resigned the seals of the chancellorship with so scanty an income to live upon. "All the lands which he ever purchased [says his great grandson] being, as my uncle ROPER well knew, not above the value of twenty marks by the year; and, after his debts paid, he had not, of my uncle's own knowledge (his golden chain excepted), in gold and silver left him, the worth of one hundred pounds." More's Life of his Great Grandfather, 4to. edit. 249.

water. Whereas to gold and silver, nature hath given no use that we may not well lack: if that the folly of men had not set it in higher estimation for the rareness sake. But of the contrary part, nature, as a most tender and loving mother, hath placed the best and necessary things open abroad; as the air, the water, and the earth itself: and hath removed, and hid farthest from us, vain and unprofitable things. Therefore, if these metals among them should be fast locked up in some tower, it might be suspected that the prince and the counsel (as the people is ever foolishly imagining) intended by some subtlety to deceive the commons, and to take some profit of it to themselves. Furthermore, if they should make thereof plate, and such other finely and cunningly wrought stuff—if at any time they should have occasion to break it, and melt it again, therewith to pay their soldiers wages—they see and perceive very well, that men would be loth to part from those things that they once began to have pleasure and delight in. To remedy all this, they have found out a means, which

as it is agreeable to all their other laws and customs, so is it from ours, where gold is so much set by, and so diligently kept, very far discrepant and repugnant: and therefore uncredible—but only to them that be wise. For whereas they eat and drink in earthen and glass vessels—which indeed be curiously and properly made, and yet be of very small value—of gold and silver they make chamber-pots, and other vessels that serve for most vile * uses; not only in their common halls, but in every man's private house. Furthermore, of the same metals they make great chains, fetters, and gyves, wherein they tie their bondmen.

Finally, whosoever for any offence be infamed,† by their ears hang rings of gold: upon their fingers they wear rings of gold: and about their neck chains of gold: and, in

* This is one of the strongest satires ever written against gold; well might ALSOP exclaim in the margin of his edition, "*O wonderful contumely of gold!*"

† Subject to reproach or punishment. The word is used by Bacon and Milton. See Johnson in loc. Perhaps the above is among the earliest instances of it in our language.

conclusion, their heads be tied with gold. Thus by all means possible they procure to have gold and silver among them in reproach and infamy. And these metals, which other nations do as grievously and sorrowfully forego, as in a manner their own lives—if they should altogether at once be taken from the *Utopians*, no man there would think that he had lost the worth of one farthing!

They gather also pearls by the sea side, and diamonds and carbuncles upon certain rocks, and yet they seek not for them: but by chance finding them, they cut and polish them; and therewith they deck their young infants. Which, like as in the first years of their childhood they make much, and be fond and proud of such ornaments, so, when they be a little more grown in years and discretion, perceiving that none but children do wear such toys and trifles, they lay them away even of their own shamefastness,* without any bidding of their parents: even as our children, when they wax bigger, do cast away nuts, brooches, and puppets. Therefore

* *Shamefacedness.*

these laws and customs, which be so far different from all other nations, how divers fantasies also and minds they do cause, did I never so plainly perceive as in the ambassadors of the *Anemolians*.

These ambassadors came to Amaurote while I was there. And because they came to entreat of great and weighty matters, three citizens a-piece, out of every city, were come thither before them. But all the ambassadors of the next countries, which had been there before, and knew the fashions and manners of the *Utopians*—among whom they perceived no honour given to sumptuous apparel, silks to be contemned, gold also to be infamed and reproachful—were wont to come thither in very homely and simple array. But the *Anemolians*, because they dwell far thence, and had very little acquaintance with them, hearing that they were all apparelled alike, and that very rudely and homely,* thinking them not to have the things which

† More's own private apparel was sufficiently "rude and homely." "He used oftentimes to weare a sharp shirt of hayre next his skinne, which he never left of wholy; no, not when he was Lord Chancellour of England: which

they did not wear—being therefore more proud than wise, determined in the gorgeousness of their apparel to represent very gods; and with the bright shining and glistering of their gay clothing, to dazzle the eyes of the silly poor *Utopians.*

So there came in four ambassadors, with one hundred servants, all apparelled in changeable colours: the most of them in silks: the ambassadors themselves (for at home in their own country they were noblemen) in cloth of gold, with great chains of gold, with gold hanging at their ears, with gold rings

my grandmother on a time, in the heate of summer, [as he sate at supper single in his doublet and hose, wearing thereupon a plain shirt, without ruffe or collar,] chancing to espie, laught at—not being much sensible of such kinde of spiritual exercises." More's Life of his Great Grandfather, 4to. ed. 27. Hoddesdon's Life, p. 62.3.

The benevolent disposition of More was strongly evinced on this occasion: it seems that his favourite daughter, Margaret, [" not ignorant of his custom,"] told him of her sister's discovery—" and he," (says Hoddesdon,) " being sorry that she had seen it, presently amended it." A little further we are told, that he caused the said favourite daughter, " as need required, to wash the same shirt of hair."

upon their fingers, with broches * and aiglets † of gold upon their caps, which glistered full of pearls and precious stones: to be short, trimmed and adorned with all those things which, among the *Utopians*, were either the punishment of bondmen, or the reproach of infamed persons, or else trifles for young children to play withall. Therefore it would have done a man good at his heart, to have seen how proudly they displayed their peacocks feathers, how much they made of their painted sheaths, and how loftily they set forth and advanced themselves, when they compared their gallant apparel with the poor raiment of the *Utopians*. For all the people were swarmed forth into the streets.

And on the other side, it was no less pleasure to consider how much they were deceived, and how far they missed of their

* A *broche* "seems to have signified originally the tongue of a buckle or clasp; and from thence the buckle or clasp itself." Tyrrw. Glossary to Chaucer's C. T. The word is now always used in the latter sense.

† "A *point* or *tag of a lace*"—from the French *aiguillette*: see Johnson in loc. and Mr. Todd's note in his edition of Spenser, vol. vi. p. 365.

purpose; being contrary ways taken than they thought they should have been. For to the eyes of all the *Utopians*, except very few, (which had been in other countries for some reasonable cause) all that gorgeousness of apparel seemed shameful and reproachful; insomuch, that they most reverently saluted the vilest and most abject of them for lords: passing over the ambassadors themselves without any honour; judging them, by their wearing of golden chains, to be bondmen. Yea, you should have seen children also, that had cast away their pearls and precious stones, when they saw the like sticking upon the ambassadors caps — dig and push their mothers under the sides,* saying thus to them. "Look, mother, how great a lubber doth yet wear pearls and precious stones, as though he were a little child again!"

* "Compellare matrem, ac latus fodere,"—"call to their mothers, push them gently," say Burnet and Warner—but the action is more forcibly described in the old translation.—A child instinctively attacks its mother in this manner on any sudden emotion of joy or surprise. In the French translation it is tamely said—"disoient à leurs meres en les poussant."

But the mother, yea, and that also in good earnest: "Peace, son (saith she), I think he be some of the ambassadors fools!" Some found fault at their golden chains, as to no use nor purpose, being so small and weak that a bondman might easily break them; and again so wide and large, that when it pleased him he might cast them off, and run away at liberty whither he would.

But when the ambassadors had been there a day or two, and saw so great abundance of gold so lightly esteemed, yea in no less reproach, than it was with them in honour—and besides that, more gold in the chains and gyves of one fugitive bondman, than all the costly ornaments of them three was worth—they began to abate their courage, and for very shame laid away all that gorgeous array whereof they were so proud. And specially when they had talked familiarly with the *Utopians*, and had learned all their fashions and opinions.*

* There is in no writer a finer passage, illustrative of the folly of mere wealth (unapplied to right uses), than the whole of this narrative relating to the *Anemolian ambassadors*.

For they marvel that any men be so foolish as to have delight and pleasure in the doubtful glistering of a little trifling stone, which may behold any of the stars, or else the sun itself. Or that any man is so mad as to count himself the nobler for the smaller or finer thread of wool, which self-same wool (be it now never so fine spun thread) a sheep did once wear: and yet was she all that time no other thing than a sheep! They marvel also that gold, which of the own nature is a thing so unprofitable, is now among all people in so high estimation, that man himself, by whom, yea, and for the use of whom, it is so much set by, is in much less estimation than the gold itself. Insomuch that a lumpish blockhead churl, and which hath no more wit than an ass, yea and as full of naughtiness as of folly, shall have nevertheless many wise and good men in subjection and bondage, only for this—because he hath a great heap of gold! Which if it should be taken from him by any

The irony is delicate yet keen—and the story well deserves the marginal annotation of its first printer, Froben—"Elegantissima fabula!"

tune, or by some subtle wile and cautel * of the law, (which no less than fortune doth both raise up the low, and pluck down the high), and be given to the most vile slave and abject drivel of all his houshold, then shortly after he shall go into the service of his servant, as an augmentation or overplus beside his money.

But they much more marvel at and detest the madness of them, which, to those rich men, in whose debt and danger they be not, do give almost divine honours, for none other consideration, but because they be rich!—and yet knowing them to be such niggish † penny-fathers, that they be sure, as long as they live, not the worth of one farthing of that heap of gold shall come to them.

* *A crafty way to deceive:* Minsheu. But see Mr. G. Chalmers's Glossary to Sir D. Lyndsay's Works, vol. iii. p. 292.

† The expression "*penny-worths*" was common in the 17th century— to denote, sometimes closeness and sometimes liberality. In the latter sense Quarles uses it, speaking of the Deity—"bountiful penny-worths at his hand." See his Judgment and Mercy, &c.

CHAPTER VII.

Education, Learning, Philosophical Opinions, &c.

THESE and such like opinions have they conceived, partly by education, [being brought up in that common-wealth, whose laws and customs be far different from those kinds of folly,] and partly by good literature and learning. For though there be not many in every city, which be exempt and discharged of all other labours, and appointed only to learning—that is to say, such in whom, even from their very childhood, they have perceived a singular towardness, a fine wit, and a mind apt to good learning—yet, all in their childhood be instructed in learning. And the better part of the people, both men and women, throughout all their whole life, do bestow in learning those spare hours, which we said they have vacant from bodily labours. They be taught learning in their own native

tongue:* for it is both copious in words, and also pleasant to the ear: and for the utterance of a man's mind, very perfect and sure. The most part of all that side of the world useth the same language, saving that among the *Utopians* it is finest and purest; and according to the diversity of the countries, it is diversly altered. Of all these philosophers, whose names be here famous in this part of the world to us known, before our coming thither, not as much as the fame of any of them was come among *them*. And yet in music, logic, arithmetic, and geometry, they have found out, in a manner, all that our ancient philosophers have taught. But as they in all things be almost equal to our old and ancient clerks †—so our new logicians, in subtle inventions, have far passed and gone beyond them.

* A specimen of the Utopian language is given at the end of the volume. In the editio princeps the *characters* of the language are given.

† "*Clerk*" was the common term for a *well informed* person, and is the contraction of "*clericus*," a clergyman —most situations of talent or trust being formerly filled by the clergy. See Blackstone's Com. vol. i. Introd.

For they have not devised one of all those rules of restrictions, amplifications, very wittily invented in the *small logicals** which here our children in every place do learn. Furthermore, they were never yet able to find out the second inventions: insomuch that none of them could ever see man him-

* More here ridicules the absurd system of education adopted in his own days; especially that part of it which related to *logics* and *metaphysics*. "As the language of the philosophers of Greece and Rome came to be better understood, and their works more generally perused, the barbarous jargon, unintelligible subtleties, endless distinctions, and ponderous works of the schoolmen, came to be neglected and despised. The commissioners who were appointed to visit the University of Oxford, A. D. 1535, (seventeen years after More's Utopia was published), wrote thus to the Lord Cromwell: "We have set Dunce [*Duns Scotus*] in Bocardo, and have utterly banished him Oxford for ever, with all his blind glosses; and he is now made a common servant to every man, fast nailed up upon posts in all common houses of easment. The second time we came to New College, after we had declared your injunctions, we found all the great quadrate court full of the leaves of Dunce, the wind blowing them into every corner." See Henry's Hist. of Gr. Br. vol. xii. 209, where Strype's Memorials, vol. i. 210; and Wood, lib. i. p. 260. are quoted.

self in common, as they call him, though he be (as you know) bigger than ever was any giant; yea, and pointed to of us even with our finger. But they be, in the course of the stars, and the movings of the heavenly spheres, very expert and cunning. They have also wittily excogitated and devised instruments of divers fashions; wherein is exactly comprehended and contained the movings and situations of the sun, the moon, and of all the other stars, which appear in their horizon. But as for the amities and dissentions of the planets, and all that deceitful divination * of the stars, they never as much as dreamed thereof. Rains, winds, and other courses of tempests, they know

* *Astrology* is here censured. How much it was the favourite study of our ancestors in the 16th century, may be seen from the hundreds of black-letter volumes which were published upon the subject. Bishop Hall has severely lashed it in his Satires—

"Some doting gossip 'mongst the Chaldee wives
Did to the credulous world thee first derive;
And Superstition nurs'd thee ever sence,
And publisht in profounder art's defence."

Virgidemiarum, b. II. sat. vii.

before by certain tokens, which they have learned by long use and observation. But of the causes of all these things, and of the ebbing and flowing, and saltness of the sea; and finally, of the original beginning, and nature of heaven and of the world, they hold partly the same opinions that our old philosophers hold; and partly, as our philosophers vary among themselves, so they also, while they bring new reasons of things, do disagree from all them, and yet among themselves in all points they do not accord.

In that philosophy, which intreateth of manners and virtue * their reasons and opinions agree with ours. They dispute of the good qualities of the soul, of the body, and of fortune: and whether the name of goodness may be applied to all these, or only to the endowments and gifts of the soul. They reason of virtue and pleasure. But the chief and principal question is, in what thing, be it one or more, the felicity of man consisteth. But in this point they seem almost too much given and inclined to the opinion of

* *Moral philosophy*, as Burnet properly translates it.

them which defend pleasure: wherein they determine either all, or the chiefest part, of man's felicity to rest.* And (which is more to be marvelled at) the defence of this so dainty and delicate an opinion, they fetch even from their grave, sharp, bitter, and rigorous religion. For they never dispute of felicity or blessedness, but they join unto the reasons of philosophy certain principles taken out of religion: without the which, to the investigation of true felicity, they think reason of itself weak and unperfect. Those principles be these and such like. That the soul is

* "The author takes the side of EPICURUS in this controversy, who considered happiness in itself and in its formal state, and not according to the relation it has to external beings; and in this view he asserted that the felicity of man consisted in pleasure. But pleasure was a word of an ill sound: those who were already corrupt in their morals, made an improper use of it; which the enemies of his sect taking advantage of, the name of an Epicurean became obnoxious. But this was accidental to the doctrine; and the author has illustrated it in the following pages, consonantly to our religion, and in a manner which does honour to the philosopher who promulged it." WARNER.

immortal; and by the bountiful goodness of God, ordained to felicity; that to our virtues and good deeds, rewards be appointed after this life; and to our evil deeds, punishments. Though these be pertaining to religion, yet they think it meet that they should be believed and granted by proofs of reason. But if these principles were condemned and disanulled, then, without any delay, they pronounce no man to be so foolish which would not do all his diligence and endeavour to obtain pleasure, be it right or wrong; only avoiding this inconvenience — that the less pleasure should not be a let or hindrance to the bigger: or that he laboured not for that pleasure, which would bring after it displeasure, grief, and sorrow.

For they judge it extreme madness to follow sharp and painful virtue, and not only to banish the pleasure of life, but also willingly to suffer grief, without any hope of profit thereof ensuing. For what profit can there be, if a man, when he hath passed over all his life unpleasantly, that is to say, miserably, shall have no reward after his

death? But now, Sir, they think not felicity to rest in all pleasure, but only in that pleasure that is good and honest; and that hereto, as to perfect blessedness, our nature is allured and drawn even of virtue—whereto only they that be of the contrary opinion do attribute felicity. For they define virtue to be life ordered according to nature, and that we be hereunto ordained of god: and that he doth follow the course of nature, which, in desiring and refusing things, is ruled by reason. Furthermore, the reason doth chiefly and principally kindle in men the love and veneration of the divine majesty. Of whose goodness it is that we be, and that we be in possibility to attain felicity.* And that, secondarily, it both stirreth and provoketh us to lead our life out† of care, in joy and mirth;

* "Cui debemus et quod sumus, et quod compotes esse felicitatis possumus," "To whom we owe both all that we have, and all that we can ever hope for." Burnet and Warner.

† "*Free from.*" The philosophical part of More's Utopia is rather indifferently executed by our first English translator; in this department, Burnet has an evident superiority.

and also moveth us to help and further all other, in respect of the society of nature, to obtain and enjoy the same. For there was never man so earnest and painful a follower of virtue and hater of pleasure, that would so enjoin your labours, watchings, and fastings, but he would also exhort you to ease, lighten, relieve to the utmost of your power, the lack and misery of others; praising the same as a deed of humanity and pity. Then if it be a point of humanity, for man to bring health and comfort to man, and specially (which is a virtue most peculiarly belonging to man) to mitigate and assuage the grief of *others*, and by taking from them the sorrow and heaviness of life to restore them to joy, that is to say to pleasure — may it not then be said, that nature doth provoke every man to do the same to *himself?* For a joyful life, that is to say, a pleasant life, is either evil— and if it be so, then thou shouldst not only help no man thereto, but rather as much as in thee lieth, withdraw all men from it, as noisome and hurtful—or else, if thou not only must, but also of duty art bound to procure

it to others — why not chiefly to thyself? to whom thou art bound to shew as much favour and gentleness as to other! For when nature biddeth thee to be good and gentle to other, she commandeth thee not to be cruel and ungentle to thyself. Therefore even very nature (say they) prescribeth to us a joyful life, that is to say, pleasure, as the end of all our operations. And they define virtue to be life ordered according to the prescript of nature. But in that, that nature doth allure and provoke men, one to help another to live merrily,* (which surely she

* If ever there was a decided foe to *Melancholy*, it was the learned and witty author of this romance of Utopia; who seems to have agreed with BULLEIN, that—"Melancholy, that cold, dry, wretched saturnine humor creepeth in with a leane, pale, or swartysh colour, which reigneth upon solitarye, carefull-musyng men: whych humour, at length, breedeth and bryngeth forth a terryble chylde called the *fever quarten:* the same, if he bee not corrected and banished away, wyll be hys father's death." Bulwarke of Defence against all Sicknesse, &c. 1579, pt. iv. fol. 4. b.

I subjoin a curious passage from "BRIGHT's *Treatise of Melancholy*," first published in 1586, in which the reader, if he enjoys not the "merry life" recommended

doth not without a good cause: for no man is far above the lot of man's state, or condi-

by our author, but is afflicted with hypocondriacal disorders, may probably discover something to cure him of his malady. "If (says Dr. Bright) the melancholic man be of ability, the house would (should) not want ornament of picture, of gay and fresh colors; in such matter as shall be most pleasant and delighful. And of all ornaments of house and home, a pleasant garden, and hortyeard (orchard), with a lively spring, is above all domesticall delight, and meetest for the melancholy heart and brayne. His apparel would (should) be decent and comely; and, as the purse would give leave, somewhat, for the time, sumptuous; as also the whole household furniture belonging unto him; of color light, or changeable; except the place and gravity of the melancholy person refuseth colors. And, heere, no kind of ornament would (should) be omitted which might entice the senses to delight, and allure the enclosed spirits to solace themselves. (As to) the outward parts of their bodies, here, brouches, chains, and rings may have good use; with such like ornament of jewel, as agreeth with the ability and calling of the melancholicke; and those not only curious and precious by art, but especially garnished with precious stones, that are said to have virtue against vain feares and basenesse of courage. Of which sort are these following: the *Carbuncle*, for virtue the chief of stones: *the Calcedonie*, of power to put away feare and heavinesse of heart; a clearer of

tion, that nature doth cark and care for him only, which equally favoureth all that be comprehended under the communion of one shape, form and fashion) verily she com-

the spirits, and chaser away of fantasticall melancholy visions: the *Rubie*, available against fearfull dreames: the *Jacint*, a great cheerer of the heart, and procurer of favor; the *Turcoyse*, a comforter of the spirits: the *Chrysophars*, of like virtue: the *Corneole*, a mitigater of anger, and meet for melancholickes of the furious sort. Stones of baser sort, and yet of singular vertue, are the Chalydonie, or *Swallow-stone*, found in the mawes of young swallowes—against madnesse: and the Alectorian, or *Cockes stone*, of a waterie color, found in the maw of a cocke, or capon, after hee bee nine years olde—above all commended for giving strength and courage! and wherewith (as it is reported) the famous *Milo-Critonien* always stood invincible. Thus have you the whole order of the melancholy dyet." p. 320. 1. ed. 1613.

The ingenious BURTON, in his "*Anatomy of Melancholy*," has enlarged upon these hints of Bright; although he does not acknowledge his obligations to him. Whoever will be at the trouble of consulting Part ii. Sect. 4. Memb. 1. Subsect 4, of the last folio edition of Burton, [1676] will see how it varies from the first folio of 1624; and will, in consequence, regret the omission of the notice of these variations in the octavo editions of Burton recently published. These latter *might* have been the most amusing octavo variorum editions of an English classic extant.

mandeth thee to use diligent circumspection, that thou do not seek for thine own commodity, that which may procure others incommodity† Wherefore their opinion is, that not only covenants and bargains made among private men, ought to be well and faithfully followed, observed, and kept, but also common laws; which either a good prince hath justly published, or else the people, neither oppressed with tyranny, neither deceived by fraud and guile, hath by their common consent constituted and ratified; concerning the partition of the commodity of life, that is to say, the matter of pleasure. These laws not offended, it is wisdom that thou look to thine own wealth. And to do the same for the common-wealth is no less than

* The foregoing passage, obscurely expressed by Robinson, is thus forcibly given in the French translation, "En effet, aucun individu n'est tellement au-dessus du sort de nôtre espece, que la nature n'ait soin que de lui: comme elle nous produit tous de la même figure, elle nous entretient aussi sans distinction, et sans partialité. Or, ce que cette même nature vous ordonne le plus expressément, c'est de ne pas tant vous appliquer à vôtre bonheur, que vous procuriez le malheur des autres." p. 183.

thy duty, if thou bearest any reverent love, or any natural zeal and affection, to thy native country. But to go about to let another man of his pleasure, while thou procurest thine own, that is open wrong. Contrarywise, to withdraw something from thyself to give to other—that is a point of humanity and gentleness, which never taketh away so much commodity, as it bringeth again. For it is recompensed with the return of benefits; and the conscience of the good deed, with the remembrance of the thankful love and benevolence of them to whom thou hast done it, doth bring more pleasure to thy mind, than that which thou hast withholden from thyself could have brought to thy body. Finally (which to a godly disposed and a religious mind is easy to be persuaded), God recompenseth the gift of a short and small pleasure with great and everlasting joy.*

* "Brevis et exiguæ voluptatis vicem, ingenti ac nunquam interituro gaudio rependit Deus." "And they are persuaded that God will make up the loss of those small pleasures,

Therefore the matter diligently weighed and considered, thus they think that all our actions, and in them the virtues themselves, be referred at the last to pleasure, as their end and felicity. Pleasure, they call every motion and state of the body or mind, wherein man hath naturally delectation. Appetite they join to nature, and that not without a good cause. For like as, not only the senses, but also right reason coveteth whatsoever is naturally pleasant, so that it may be gotten without wrong or injury, not letting or debarring a greater pleasure, nor causing painful labour—even so those things that men, by vain imagination do fain against nature to be pleasant (as though it lay in their power to change the things, as they do the names of things) all such pleasures they believe to be of so small help and furtherance to felicity, that they count them a great let and hindrance. Because, that, in whom they have once taken place, all his mind they possess with a false opinion of pleasure.

with a vast and endless joy." So Burnet and Warner; but not so faithful nor elegant as the above.

So that there is no place left for true and natural delectations.

For there be many things, which of their own nature contain no pleasantness; yea the most part of them much grief and sorrow: and yet, through the perverse and malicious flickering enticements of lewd and unhonest desires, they be taken not only for special and sovereign pleasures, but also be counted among the chief causes of life. In this counterfeit kind of pleasure, they put them that I spake of before; which the better gowns they have on, the better men they think themselves. In the which thing, they do twice err; for they be no less deceived in that they think their *gown* the better, than they be in that they think *themselves* the better.

For if you consider the profitable use of the garment, why should wool of a finer spun thread be thought better than the wool of a coarse spun thread? Yet they, as though the one did pass the other by nature, and not by their mistaking, vaunt themselves, and think the price of their own per-

sons thereby greatly increased. And therefore the honour, which in a coarse gown they durst not have looked for, they require, as it were of duty, for their finer gown's sake! And if they be passed without reverence, they take it displeasantly and disdainfully! And again, is it not alike madness to take a pride in vain and unprofitable honours? For what natural or true pleasure dost thou take of another man's bare head, or bowed knees? will this ease the pain of thy knees, or remedy the phrensy of thy head? In this image of counterfeit pleasure, they be of marvellous madness, which for the opinion of nobility, rejoice much in their own conceit.* Because it was their fortune

* More literally practised what he preached. No man ever had a deeper-rooted contempt of those honours attached to nobility which consist in mere outward form, pomp, and ceremony. "He exercised actes of humilitie that he made most worldlie men to wonder at him. On the Sunnedaies even, *when he was Lord Chancellour*, he wore a surplice, and soung with the singers at the high masse and matins in his parish church at Chelsey; which the Duke of Norfolk on a time finding, sayd—"*God bodie, God bodie*, my Lord Chancellour a parish Clarke!

to come of such ancestors, whose stock of long time had been counted rich, (for now nobility is nothing else,) specially rich in lands. And though their ancestors left them not one foot of land, or else they themselves have p—d it against the walls, yet they think themselves not the less noble therefore of one hair! In this number also they count them that take pleasure and delight (as I said) in gems and precious stones, and think themselves almost gods, if they chance to get an excellent one, specially of that kind which, in that time, of their own countrymen, is had in highest estimation.

For one kind of stone keepeth not his price still in all countries, and at all times. Nor they buy them not, but taken out of the gold, and bar; no, nor so neither, until they have made the seller to swear that he will warrant and assure it to be a true stone and no counterfeit gem. Such care they take

you disgrace the king, and your office!" "Nay, sayd Sir Thomas, smiling"—"Your Grace may not thinke I dishonour my prince in my dutiefulnesse to *his* Lord and *ours!*"—Gr. Grandson's Life, 8vo. edit. p. 19.

lest a counterfeit stone should deceive their eyes instead of a right stone. But why shouldest thou not take even as much pleasure in beholding a counterfeit stone, which thine eyes cannot discern from a right stone? They should both be of like value to thee, even as to a blind man.

What shall I say of them that keep superfluous riches, to take delectation only in the beholding, and not in the use or occupying thereof? Do they take true pleasure, or else be they deceived with false pleasure? Or of them that be in a contrary vice—hiding the gold which they shall neither occcupy, nor peradventure never see him more: and whilst they take care *lest* they shall lose, *do* lose it indeed! For what is it else, when they hide it in the ground, taking it both from their own use, and perchance from all other men's also? And yet thou, when thou hast hid thy treasure, as one out of all care, hopest for joy—the which treasure, if it should chance to be stolen, and thou, ignorant of the theft, shouldst die ten years after: all that ten years thou livedst, after thy money was stolen, what matter was it to

thee, whether it had been taken away, or else safe as thou left it? Truly both ways like profit came to thee!

To these so foolish pleasures they join Dicers, whose madness they know by hearsay and not by use. Hunters also and Hawkers.*

* *Hawking* was the favourite amusement of our English ancestors till the close of the 17th century—it was revived a little in the eighteenth, and is still occasionally practised by gentlemen in the north of England. [See an amusing account of this diversion in Mr. C. Dibdin's Tour through England and Scotland, 4to. 2 vols. 1802.] Its antiquity is remote: the *royal falconer* was an officer of high dignity in the Grecian court of Constantinople, at an early period: and the Emperor Andronicus Palæologus, the younger, kept more than one thousand and four hundred hawks, with almost as many men to take care of them. Julius Firmicus, who wrote about the year 355, is the first Latin author who mentions *hawking*, or has even used the word [*Falco*]. A charter of Kenulf, king of the Mercians, granted to the abbey of Abingdon, and dated 821, prohibits all persons carrying *hawks or falcons*, to trespass on the lands of the monks. See Dugd. *Monast. Anglicanum*, vol. i. 100. So sacred was this bird esteemed, that it was forbidden in a code of Charlemagne's laws,* for any one to give his *hawk* or his sword as part of his ransom.

* The extreme jealousy with which our legislature watched any infraction of the laws relating to *hawking* and

For what pleasure is there (say they) in casting the dice upon a table—which thou

In the feudal times, and long afterwards, no gentleman appeared on horseback [unless going to battle] without *an hawk on his fist:* this was always considered a mark of great nobility.* In the tapestry of the Norman Conquest, Harold is exhibited on horseback with a hawk on his fist, and his dogs going before him—on an embassy from King Edward the Confessor to William Duke of Normandy. In the year 1337, the bishop of Ely excommunicated certain persons for *stealing a hawk*, sitting on her perch, in the cloisters of the abbey of Bermondsey in Southwark. Con-

falconry, may be seen in the confirmation of the Forest Laws by Hen. III. also by the 34th of Edw. III. and the 11th. of Hen. VII. from which the reader will find some amusing extracts by Strutt; without being under the necessity of consulting the formidable volumes of Ruffhead or Runnington.

It would seem, from the first mentioned authority, that Henry the Eighth had liked to have paid dear for his passion for *hawking*—" for" (says Hall) " on a time, as the kynge following his hauke (on foot) he attempted to leap over a ditche, with a pole, and the pole brake: so that if one Edmond Mody, a foteman, had not lept into the water, and lift up his hede, which was fast in the clay, he had been drowned: but God of his goodness preserved him."—Manners and Customs of the English, vol. ii. 90.—iii. 124, 125.

* " An hawk he esteems the *true burden of nobilitie*, and is exceeding ambitious to seem delighted in the sport, and to have his fist glov'd with his jesses." See Micro-cosmographie, edit. 1664. p. 97.

hast done so often, that if there were any pleasure in it, yet the oft use might make thee weary thereof? Or what delight can

sult the amusing notes of T. Warton, in h s History of English Poetry, vol. i. 166. vol. ii. 221.

The favourite works upon *Falconry*, in the 16th and 17th centuries, were the Treatises by TUBERVILLE and LATHAM: but I cannot discover in the volumes of Sir J. Hawkins, or Dr. Burney—or in the ancient ballads of Doddesley, Percy, Evans, and Ritson, [8vo. 1783*, 1790, 1791,] any *Song* upon this popular subject. The only one is probably by Thomas Forde, which, however is not to be found in the collection of this poet's writings. See Mr. Ford's (of Manchester) curious catalogue of books, 8vo. 1807. No. 776. The Huntsman, and the Angler, have each received numerous panegyrical strains—but the pleasures of *falconry* seem to have been celebrated only in prose. What poets, however, have neglected, *artists* have embraced with avidity; and how well calculated the subject was for the canvas, the unrivalled pencil of WOUVERMANS has sufficiently shewn.

* This is an elegant publication in three crown 8vo. volumes; decorated with vignettes, and illustrated with musical notes—and it has the recommendation of excluding "every composition, however celebrated or however excellent, of which the slightest expression, or the most distant allusion, could have tinged the cheek of delicacy, or offended the purity of the chastest ear." Pref. p. v. *O si sic omnia!* All the above publications of Ritson are daily becoming rare.

there be, and not rather displeasure, in hearing the barking and howling of dogs? Or what greater pleasure is there to be felt when a dog followeth an *hare*, than when a dog followeth a *dog?* For one thing is done in both, that is to say, running—if thou hast pleasure therein?! But if the hope of slaughter, and the expectation of tearing in pieces the beast, doth please thee, thou shouldest rather be moved with pity to see a silly innocent hare murdered of a dog: the weak of the stronger; the fearful of the fierce; the innocent of the cruel and unmerciful. Therefore all this exercise of *hunting*, as a thing unworthy to be used of freemen, the *Utopians* have rejected to their butchers; to the which craft (as we said before) they appoint their bondmen. For they count hunting the lowest, the vilest, and most abject part of butchery; and the other parts of it more profitable and more honest: as bringing much commodity, in that they kill beasts only for necessity.

Whereas the hunter seeketh nothing but pleasure of the silly and woeful beast's

slaughter and murder. The which pleasure in beholding death, they think doth rise in the very beasts; either of a cruel affection of mind, or else to be changed in continuance of time into cruelty,* by long use of so cruel a pleasure. These, therefore, and all such like, which be innumerable, though the common sort of people doth take them for pleasures, yet they, seeing there is no natural pleasantness in them, do plainly determine them to have no affinity with true and right pleasure. For as touching that they do commonly move the sense with delectation (which seemeth to be a work of pleasure) this doth nothing diminish their opinion. For not the *nature* of the thing,, but their perverse and lewd *custom* is the cause hereof. Which causeth them to accept bitter or sower things for sweet things. Even as women with child in their vitiate and corrupt taste, think pitch and tallow sweeter than honey. Howbeit, no man's judgment

* Our author means that the dogs, from the habit of *killing* what they pursue, contract a love of cruelty which sometimes may not be natural to them.

depraved and corrupt, either by sickness, or by custom, can change the nature of pleasure, more than it can do the nature of other things.

They make divers kinds of pleasures. For some they attribute to the soul, and some to the body. To the soul they give intelligence, and that delectation that cometh of the contemplation of truth. Hereunto is joined the pleasant remembrance of the good life past.* The pleasure of the body they divide into two parts. The first is, when delectation is sensibly felt and perceived, which many times chanceth by the renewing and refreshing of those parts which our natural heat drieth up. This cometh by meat and drink. And sometimes while those things be expulsed and voided, whereof is in the body over great abundance. This pleasure is felt when we do our natural easement; or when we be doing the act of generation; or when the itching

* All the *old* translators had omitted the concluding part of the sentence—"et spes non dubia futuri boni."—Burnet properly translates it—"and the assured hopes of a future happiness."

of any part is eased with rubbing or scratching. Sometimes pleasure ariseth, exhibiting to either member nothing that it desireth, nor taking from it any pain that it feeleth; which nevertheless tickleth and moveth our senses with a certain secret efficacy, and with a manifest motion, turneth them to it: as is that which cometh of music. The second part of bodily pleasure, they say, is that which consisteth and resteth in the quiet and upright state of the body. And that truly is every man's own proper health, intermingled and disturbed with no grief. For this, if they be not letted nor assaulted with grief, is delectable of itself, though it be moved with no external or outward pleasure. For though it be not so plain and manifest to the sense as the * greedy lust of eating and drinking, yet nevertheless, many take it for the chiefest pleasure. All the *Utopians* grant it to be a right sovereign pleasure; and as you would say, the foundation and ground

* The old translation is here very powerful. "Tumida illa edendi bibendique libido," says More—Burnet and Warner have omitted this passage.

of all pleasures, as which even alone is able to make the state and condition of life delectable and pleasant. And it being once taken away, there is no place left for any pleasure. For to be without grief, not having health, that they call insensibility, and not pleasure.

The *Utopians* have long ago rejected and condemned the opinion of them, which said, that steadfast and quiet health (for this question also hath been diligently debated among them) ought not therefore to be counted a pleasure; because they say it cannot be presently and sensibly perceived and felt by some outward motion. But of the contrary part, now they agree almost all in this, that HEALTH IS A MOST SOVEREIGN PLEASURE. For seeing that in sickness (say they) is grief, which is a mortal enemy to pleasure, even as sickness is to health, why should not then pleasure be in the quietness of health? For they say it maketh nothing to this matter, whether you say that sickness is a grief, or that in sickness is grief—for all cometh to one purpose.

For whether health be a pleasure itself, or a necessary cause of pleasure, as fire is of heat, truly both ways it followeth that they cannot be without pleasure that be in perfect health. Furthermore, whilst we eat (say they), then health, which began to be appaired, * fighteth by the help of food against hunger. In the which fight, whilst health by little and little getteth the upper hand, that same proceeding, and (as we would say) that onwardness to the wonted strength, ministereth that pleasure whereby we be so refreshed. Health therefore, which in the conflict is joyful, shall it not be merry when it hath gotten the victory? But as it hath recovered the pristinate strength, which thing only in all the sight it coveted, shall it incontinent be astonished? Nor shall it not know nor embrace its own worth and goodness? For where it is said health cannot be felt, this they think is nothing true. For what man waking, say they, feeleth not himself in health, but he that is not? Is there any man so possessed with stonish

* For "impaired:" the expression is used by Chaucer.

insensibility, or with lethargy, that is to say, the sleeping sickness, that he will not grant health to be acceptable to him, and delectable? But what other thing is delectation than that which, by another name, is called pleasure?

They embrace chiefly *the pleasures of the* MIND: for them they count the chiefest and most principle of all. The chief part of them they think doth come of the exercise of virtue, and conscience of good life. Of these pleasures that the body ministereth, they give the pre-eminence to health. For the delight of *eating and drinking*, and whatsoever hath any like pleasantness, they determine to be pleasures much to be desired, but no otherways than for health's sake. For such things of their own proper nature be not so pleasant, but in that they resist sickness privily stealing on: therefore, like as it is a wise man's part rather to avoid sickness, than to wish for medicines, and rather to drive away and put to flight careful griefs, than to call for comfort—so it is much better not to need this kind of pleasure, than thereby to be eased of the contrary

grief. The which kind of pleasure, if any man take for his felicity, that man must needs grant that then he shall be in most felicity, if he live that life which is led in continual hunger, thirst, itching, eating *drinking, scratching, and rubbing! The which life, how not only foul and unhonest, but also how miserable and wretched it is, who perceiveth not? These doubtless be the basest pleasures of all, as unpure and unperfect. For they never come but accompanied with their contrary griefs. As with the pleasure of eating, is joined hunger, and that after no very equal sort: for of

* "God Almighty, (says the learned Bullein) hath ordayned *wine* for the great comfort of mankind, to be taken moderately; but to be drunke with excesse, it is unwholsome and is poyson most venemous: it relaxeth the sinewes, bryngeth palsy, fallyng sicknesse: in olde persons, hot fevers, frensies, fighting, lechery; and a consuming of the lyver to the cholericke: and, generally there is no credence to be given to drunkardes although they be mighty men. It maketh men lyke to monsters, with countenaunce lyke to burning coales: it dishonoureth noblemen, and beggereth poore men," &c. Bulwarke of Defence, pt. 1. fol. ii.

these two, the grief is both the more vehement and also of longer continuance. For it beginneth before the pleasure, and endeth not until the pleasure die with it. Wherefore such pleasures they think not greatly to be set by, but in that they be necessary.

Howbeit, they have delight also in these, and thankfully knowledge the tender love of mother nature, which, with most pleasant delectation, allureth her children to them; to the necessary use whereof, they must from time to time continually be forced and driven. For how wretched and miserable should our life be, if these daily griefs of hunger and thirst could not be driven away, but with bitter potions, and sour medicines, as the other diseases be, wherewith we be seldomer troubled? But beauty, strength, nimbleness, these as peculiar and pleasant gifts of nature, they make much of. But those pleasures that be received by the ears, the eyes, and the nose, which nature willeth to be proper and peculiar to man (for no other living creature doth behold the fairness and the beauty of the world, or is moved with any respect of

favours, but only for the diversity of meats, neither perceiveth the concordant and discordant distances of sounds and tunes) these pleasures, I say, they accept and allow as certain pleasant rejoicings of life. But in all things this cautel* they use, that a less pleasure hinder not a bigger; and that the pleasure be no cause of displeasure, which they think to follow of necessity, if the pleasure be unhonest. But yet to despise the comeliness of beauty, to waste the bodily strength, to turn nimbleness unto slothness, to consume and make feeble the body with fasting, to do injury to health, and to reject the pleasant motions of nature—unless a man neglect these commodities, while he doth with a fervent zeal procure the wealth of *others*, or the common profit—for the which pleasure forborne, he is in hope of a greater pleasure at God's hand†

* *Caution.* But see page 85, ante.

† More here alludes to *penances* and *mortifications*, which, considering how severely he inflicted them on himself, he puts in a just and liberal point of view. "When he was about eighteene or twentie yeares old, finding his bodie by reason of his yeares most rebellious, he sought diligently to

—else for a vain shadow of virtue, for the wealth and profit of *no man*, to punish himself, or to the intent he may be able courageously to suffer adversity, which perchance shall never

tame his unbrideled concupiscence by wonderfull workes of mortification. Besides wearing a sharp shirt of hayre next his skin [see page 80, ante], he used also much fasting and watching, lying often either upon the bare ground, or upon some bench, or laying *some log under his head*, allotting himselfe but foure or five howres in a night at moste for his sleepe; imagining with the holie Saints of Christ's church, that his bodie was to be used like an asse, with strokes and harde fare, least provender might pricke it" &c. Gr. Grandson's Life, 4to. edit. p. 28.

To an Englishman of the present day, this appears a severe species of penance and mortification, and barely practicable: but it should be remembered that *feather beds* and *hair mattrasses* were hardly known in More's time, and that our good forefathers were contented with very moderate fare in regard to the luxuries of the *bed*. "Our fathers, yea, and we ourselves also (says Harrison), have lien full oft upon straw pallets, or rough mats, covered only with a sheet, under coverlets made of *dagswain* or *hopharlots* [shreds, patched materials], and *a good round log* under their heads, instead of a bolster or pillow. If it were so that our fathers, or the good man of the house, had, within seven years after his marriage, purchased a *mattrass* or *flock-bed*, and thereto a *sack of chaff* to rest

come to him—this to do, they think it a point of extreme madness, and a token of a man cruelly minded towards himself, and unkind towards nature, as one so disdaining to be in her danger, that he renounceth and refuseth all her benefits. This is their sentence and opinion of virtue and pleasure.* And they

his head upon, he thought himself to be as well lodged as the lord of the town! that, peradventure, lay seldom in a bed of down, or whole feathers." Prefixed to Holinshed's Chronicles, p. 188.

* The whole of this is in a fine strain of thought and expression; and although the translation of Robinson be probably more defective in the philosophical parts of this romance, yet is the above very beautifully and faithfully composed. The advice which the pious and skilful Bullein gives us, is in no respect inferior to More's.—Let us (says he) see that "each of us doe walke in such callyng in this lyfe, that we may be necessarye members, one unto another, in the common wealth; to profit each other, and hurt nobody. To travaile for the fruites of the earth, or any other riches, gotten by honest pollicy; and after to spend them accordingly.—By providing for ourselves against the tyme of adversity.—To obey rulers, and pity the poore; to do as we would be done unto; to despyse a wicked life; and feare no kynde of trouble it shall please God to lay upon us. This is the summe of *Christen religion*, of an honest lyfe, and of a happy end." See his Bulwarke, &c. pt. iv. fo. 30.

believe that by man's reason none can be found truer than this, unless any godlier be inspired into man from heaven. Wherein whether they believe well or no, neither the time doth suffer us to discuss, neither is it now necessary. For we have taken upon us to shew and declare their lores and ordinances, and not to defend them. But this thing I believe verily, howsoever these decrees be, that there is in no place of the world, neither a more excellent people, neither a more flourishing common-wealth.

They be light and quick of body, full of activity and nimbleness, and of more strength than a man would judge them by their stature, which for all that is not too low. And though their soil be not very fruitful, nor their air very wholesome, yet against the air, they so defend them with temperate diet and so order and husband their ground with diligent travail, that in no country is greater increase and plenty of corn and cattle, nor men's bodies of longer life, and subject or apt to fewer diseases. There, therefore, a man may see well and diligently exploited and furnished,

not only those things which husbandmen do commonly in other countries, as by craft and cunning to remedy the barrenness of the ground—but also a whole wood by the hands of the people plucked up by the roots in one place, and set again in another place. Wherein was had regard and consideration, not of plenty, but of commodious carriage; that wood and timber might be nigher to the sea, or the rivers, or the cities. For it is less labour and business to carry grain far by land than wood. The people be gentle, merry, quick and fine witted,* delighting in quietness, and when need requireth, able to abide and suffer much bodily labour. Else they be not greatly desirous and fond of it: but in the exercise and study of the mind, they be never weary.

When they had heard me speak of the Greek literature or learning (for in Latin there was nothing that I thought they would greatly allow, besides histories and poets)

* On the authority of Erasmus, we are told that Dean Colet thought MORE "*the only wit in the island.*" See Knight's Life of Colet, p. 39.

they made wonderful earnest and importunate suit unto me, that I would teach and instruct them in that tongue and learning. I began therefore to read unto them at the first truly; more because I would not seem to refuse the labour, than that I hoped that they would any thing profit therein. But when I had gone forward a little, I perceived incontinent by their diligence, that my labour should not be bestowed in vain. For they began so easily to fashion their letters, so plainly to pronounce the words, so quickly to learn by heart, and so surely to rehearse the same, that I marvelled at it; saving that the most part of them were fine and chosen wits, and of ripe age, picked out of the company of learned men, which not only of their own free and voluntary will, but also by the commandment of the council, undertook to learn this language. Therefore, in less than three years space, there was nothing in the Greek tongue that they lacked.

They were able to read good authors *

* More's fondness for books, and for the encouragement of learning, was strikingly shewn in *the Education of his*

without any stay, if the book were not false. This kind of learning, as I suppose, they

Children—perhaps no man ever enjoyed a more rational yet polished domestic society. Of this domestic circle, his daughter, MARGARET, was deservedly the favourite; indeed, if we are to judge from the uniform evidence of contemporary writers, the father had great reason to love and admire such a daughter.—"This lady," says Mr. Lewis, in his preface to More's Life by Rooper, p. 4, "had all the advantages that could arise from great natural parts and very fine learning: she was a perfect mistress of the Greek and Latin tongues, and of all sorts of music, besides her skill in arithmetic and other sciences. For thus we are assured by a very learned friend of Sir Thomas, that he took a great deal of care to have his children instructed in the liberal disciplines or sciences; so that the fine things said of her, and to her, by the greatest men of that age and since, were more than compliments and words of course. For a more particular account of her, see the "MORIANA," prefixed to the 1st vol.

"Fuit ejus domus," says Erasmus, "schola et gymnasium Christianæ religionis." "The tutors of More's children were John Clement, who was afterwards a Greek professor at Oxford; William Gonellus, (or Gunnell), afterwards distinguished at Cambridge; Ricard Hertius; one Drus; and one Nicholas"—says Stapleton. *Vit. Mori.* 221, 2. More's letter to Gonellus, (or Gunnell) concerning the education of his children, (which Stapleton has extracted, p. 224,) is full of curious information,

took so much the sooner, because it is somewhat alliant to them: for I think that this nation took their beginning of the Greeks, because their speech, which in all other points is not much unlike the Persian tongue,

and great tenderness of sentiment. Most of the learned men of that day, Erasmus, Ludovicus Vives, and Grynæus, celebrated the SCHOOL of MORE.

"Erasmus, from whom we derive these particulars, and who was often an inmate of that delightful society, greatly captivated with the easy manners, the animated conversation, the extraordinary accomplishments of More's daughters, could not help owning himself a complete convert to More's sentiments of *Female Education.* Yet while he admired their improvement, and shared in the pleasures it diffused, he could not help remarking one day to his friend how severe a calamity it would be, if, by any of those fatalities to which the human race is liable, such accomplished beings, whom he had so painfully and successfully laboured to improve, should happen to be snatched away! "If they are to die," replied More, without hesitating, "I would rather have them die *well informed,* than *ignorant.*" "This reply," continues Erasmus, "reminded me of a saying of Phocion, whose wife, as he was about to drink the poison according to his sentence, exclaimed, "Ah! my husband, you die innocent!" "And would you, my wife," he rejoined, "rather have me die guilty?"*

MACDIARMID, Lives of British Statesmen, p. 32.

* Erasm. Epist. 605.

keepeth divers signs and tokens of the Greek language in the names of their cities, and of their magistrates. They have of me (for when I was determined to enter into my fourth voyage, I cast into the ship, in the stead of merchandise, a pretty fardle * of books, because I intended to come again rather never than shortly), they have, I say, of me, the most part of *Plato's* works, more of *Aristotle's*, also *Theophrastus* of plants, but in divers places (which I am sorry for) unperfect. For, whilst they were a ship-board, a marmoset † chanced upon the book, as it was negligently laid by, which wantonly playing therewith, plucked out certain leaves and tore them in pieces. Of them that have

* *Bundle:* "in consideration whereof, I have boldened myselfe to lay this *fardell* on my weake shoulders," &c. Theatre of the World, Boyastuau to the Reader, p. 11. "*A fardle of poesies*" was a common expression in the 16th century.

† *A small monkey.* It is not *very* improbable but that something similar to what is mentioned above of the "marmoset" was going forward under More's eye at the time he was writing the passage:—for Erasmus says he was "fond of contemplating the figure,

written the grammar, they have only *Lascaris.** For *Theodorus* I carried not with me, nor never a dictionary, but *Hesychius* and *Dioscorides.* They set great store by *Plutarch's* books; and they be delighted with *Lucian's* merry conceits and jests. Of the poets they have *Aristophanes*, *Homer*, *Euripides* and *Sophocles* in *Aldus'* small print. Of the historians they have *Thucydides*, *Herodotus*, and *Herodian.* Also my companion Tricius Apinatus carried with him physic books, certain small works of *Hippocrates*, and *Galen's Microtechne*, the which book they have in great estimation:† for

dispositions, and affections of different kinds of animals —and, for that purpose kept in his house not only all kinds of birds, but also *apes*, foxes, ferrets, &c. &c." See Epist. ad Huttenum, inter Lucubrat. Mori, p. 502. Basil. edit. 1563.

* The Greek grammar of Lascaris was published in a small 4to volume in 1476: this book is remarkable for being the first Greek volume ever printed. Of the best editions of the *remaining principal authors* above mentioned, the reader will find some account in my "Introduction, &c. to the Greek and Latin Classics," 3d edit. 1808.

† It is a little remarkable that More does not, either

though there be almost no nation under heaven that hath less need of physic than they, yet this notwithstanding, physic is no where in greater honour: because they count the knowledge of it among the godliest and most profitable parts of philosophy. For whilst they, by help of this philosophy, search out the secret mysteries of nature, they think themselves to receive thereby not only wonderful great pleasure, but also to obtain great thanks and favour of the Author and maker thereof: whom they think, according to the fashion of other artificers, to have set forth the marvellous and gorgeous frame of the world for man to behold. Whom only he hath made of wit, and capacity to

directly, or indirectly, allude to the works of his *countrymen:* probably he thought with Ascham,—that in them nothing would be read "but books of fayned chevalrie, wherein a man by reading should be led to none other ende, but onely to manslaughter and baudrye," &c. Prefatory address to the *Toxophilus*, p. 57. Bennet's edit.

In his *Schoolmaster*, Ascham is very sparing in his commendation of English writers; he notices, however, Cheke and Surrey with deserved applause.

consider and understand the excellency of so great a work.* And therefore he beareth (say they) more good will and love to the curious and diligent beholder, and viewer of his work and marvellour at the same, than he doth to him, which like a very brute beast, without sense or reason, or as one without sense or moving, hath no regard to so great and wonderful a spectacle.

The wits therefore of the *Utopians* inured and exercised in learning, be marvellous quick in the invention of feats, helping any thing to the advantage and wealth of life. Howbeit, two feats they may thank us for. That is the science of imprinting,† and the

* Most readers will recollect a similar, but greatly superior, passage in Shakspeare's Hamlet—" from this goodly frame, the earth,"—to the conclusion of the speech. Act. ii. sc. 2. Shaksp. edit. 1803. vol xviii. p. 127.

† The *art of printing* is supposed to have been discovered by Guttemberg, at Strasburgh, about the year 1450: but there is no direct evidence of any book being printed with metal types before the *Psalter* of 1457. The attempts of Guttemberg were confined only to *wooden blocks*. The completest list of treatises upon printing will be found in the Dictionnaire de Bibliologie by Peignot, vol. iii. p. 152.

craft of making paper.* And yet not only us, but chiefly and principally themselves: for when we shewed to them *Aldus* his print in books of paper, and told them of the stuff whereof paper is made, and of the feat of graving letters, speaking somewhat more than we could plainly declare, (for there was none of us that knew perfectly either the one or the other), they forthwith very wittingly conjectured the thing. And whereas before, they wrote only on skins, upon barks of trees, and reeds, now they have attempted to make paper, and to imprint letters: and though at the first it proved not all of the best, yet by often assaying the same, they shortly got the feat of both; and have so brought the matter about, that if they had copies of Greek authors, they could lack no books. But now they have

† The *art of making paper* with linen rags is supposed to have been discovered in the 11th century, though Father Mabillon thinks it was in the 12th. Montfaucon acknowledges that he has not been able to meet with a single leaf of paper with a date anterior to the death of St. Lewis in 1270.

no more than I rehearsed before, saving that by printing of books, they have multiplied and increased the same into many thousands of copies.

Whosoever cometh thither to see the land, being excellent in any gift of wit, or through much and long journeying well experienced and seen in the knowledge of many countries, (for the which cause we were very welcome to them) him they receive, and entertain wonderous gently and lovingly: for they have delight to hear what is done in every land. Howbeit, very few merchant men come thither. For what should they bring thither, unless it were iron, or else gold and silver, which they had rather carry home again? Also such things as are to be carried out of their land, they think it more wisdom to carry that geer* forth themselves, than that other

* *Stuffs, goods, riches*—ornaments, dress, habit, &c. See Ash's Dictionary, where it is said to be put for "gear."—This latter word is used by Spenser, Shakspeare, and Milton—vide Johnson's Dictionary, where it is copiously illustrated. In the original Latin there is no correspondent word to "geer."

should come thither to fetch it, to the intent they may the better know the outlands on every side of them, and keep in use the feat and knowledge of sailing.

*** I take this opportunity of correcting an error, into which an observation at p. 126 (note) may lead the reader, respecting the not finding of *English Works* in the island of Utopia. Hythloday, as a foreigner, could not be supposed to know of any; and the remote situation of the islanders rendered a communication with this country barely possible. Moreover, we may conjecture that scarcely any but Caxton's quaint publications were then known in English print. Chaucer was probably considered as a flower of too young and delicate a growth to be transplanted in the soil where Aristotle and Theophrastus grew.

CHAPTER VIII.

Of Servants, Invalids, and of Marriage, &c. *

THEY neither make *Bondmen* of prisoners taken in battle, unless it be in battle that they fought themselves, nor of bondmen's children; nor, to be short, of any such as they can get out of foreign countries, though he were yet there a bondman. But either such as among themselves for heinous offences be punished with bondage, or else such as in the cities of other lands for great trespasses, be condemned to death. And of this sort of bondmen they have most store.

For many of them they bring home sometimes: paying very little for them, yea most commonly getting them for gramercy.† These sorts of bondmen they keep not only in continual work and labour, but also in

* This is one of the most singular and amusing chapters of the whole work; and admits of much more curious and ample illustration than I have been able to bestow upon it.

† i. e. *Grand merci*, great thanks; in the original it is "gratis."

bands. But their own men they handle hardest, whom they judge more desperate, and to have deserved greater punishment, because they, being so godly brought up to virtue in so excellent a common-wealth, could not for all that be refrained from misdoing.* Another kind of bondmen they have, when a vile drudge, being a poor labourer in another country, doth choose of his own free will to be a bondman among them. These they intreat and order honestly, and entertain almost as gently as their own free citizens, saving that they put them to a little more labour, as thereto accustomed. If any such be disposed to depart thence, (which seldom is seen) they neither hold him against his will, nor send him away with empty hands.

* There is wisdom and justice in this observation; and the Utopians deserve great commendation for the above excellent regulations. The punishment inflicted upon individuals should always be in proportion to the opportunities they have had of enlightening their minds, and of knowing good from evil. The grossly ignorant man may be expected to err; but the carefully instructed one should shun error—"we *know* good things, happy are we if we *do* them"—(says the Gospel of Christ.).

The *Sick* (as I said) they see to with great affection, and let nothing at all pass, concerning either physic or good diet, whereby they may be restored again to their health. Such as be sick of incurable diseases, they comfort with sitting by them, and, to be short, with all manner of helps that may be. But if the disease be not only uncurable, but also full of continual pain and anguish, the priests and the magistrates exhort the man, seeing he is not able to do any duty of life—by overliving his own death, is noisome and irksome to other and grievous to himself—that he will determine with himself no longer to cherish that pestilent and painful disease. And seeing his life is to him but a torment, that he will not be unwilling to die, but rather to take a good hope to him, and either *dispatch himself* * out of that

* "How our author came to take up this notion, both so unphilosophical and so irreligious, it is hard to say. But that it was his own notion of this matter, even to the end of his life, is very evident: because in one of his conversations with his daughter ROPER in the Tower, he tells her, "that if it had not been for his wife and children—whom

pain, as out of a prison, or a rack of torment—or else suffer himself willingly to be

he accounted the chief part of his charge—he would not have failed long before, to have closed himself in as strait a room as that, and straiter too." With regard to the *Utopians*, he has exculpated the people from any crime in putting an end to their lives, as it is in submission to their priests and magistrates; but why he makes them expound the will of God so absurdly on this article, he has given us no reason; and probably because he could give none. Even among *them* however he does not allow of suicide, at a man's own caprice and humour, without the approbation of the priests and senate; to whom he gives an authority, not of putting miserable people to death to rid themselves of their calamities, but of consenting to that expedient, if they themselves desire it upon proper motives, and in proper circumstances." WARNER.

The doctrine inculcated in this part of the Utopia is, in every respect, unworthy of its author; whose sentiments upon suicide will be found to be obscurely expressed in his "Dyalogue of Comforte agaynst Tribulacion." The following passage relating to a *violent death*, from the "thyrd booke" of this work, is very artfully managed. [The Dialogue is carried on between *Vyncent* the nephew, and *Anthony* the uncle.]

"*Vyncent.* No, but he may dye hys naturall death, and escape that vyolent death; and then he saveth himself from much payne, and so winneth therewith much ease: for evermore a vyolente death is payneful.—

rid out of it by other. And in so doing, they tell him he shall do wisely, seeing by

Anthony. Peradventure he shall not avoyde a violent death thereby: for God is without doubte displeased, and can bring him shortly to a death as vyolent by some other way. Howbeit, I see well that you reckon; that whoso dyeth a natural death, dyeth like a wanton even at his ease. You make me remember a man that was once in a galey subtill with us on the sea—whiche, while the sea was sore wrought, and the waves rose verye hygh, and he came never on the sea afore, and lay tossed hether and thether—the poore soule groned sore, and for payne he thought he would verye fayne be dead, and ever he wished —" Would God I were on lande, that I might die in rest!" The waves so troubled hym there, with tossing him uppe and down, too and fro, that he thought that trouble letted him to dye, because the waves wold not let him reste. But if he might get once to lande, he thoughte he shoulde then dye there even at his ease!—*Vyncent.* Nay, uncle, this is no doubte, but that death is to every man paynefull: but yet is not the naturall deathe so paynfull as is the violent.—*Anthony.* By my trouth, cousin, me thinketh that the death which men calle commonly natural, is a violent death to everye man whome it fetcheth hence by force agaynst his will. And that is every man; which, when he dyeth, is loth to dye, and fayn would yet live longer if he might!"

See More's Workes, edit. 1557. p. 1256.

his death he shall lose no commodity, but end his pain. And because in that act he shall follow the counsel of the priests, that is to say, of the interpreters of God's will and pleasure, they shew him that he shall do like a godly and a virtuous man. They that be thus persuaded, finish their lives willingly, either with hunger, or else die in their sleep * without any feeling of death. But they cause none such to die against his will, nor do they use less diligence and attendance about him: believing this to be an honourable death. Else he that killeth himself before that the priests and the counsel have allowed † the cause of his death, him as unworthy either to be buried, or with fire to be

* Is the taking of *laudanum* meant! The author was a bad physiologist if he conceived the patient to suffer no pain—spasms and convulsions are most frequently the consequence of taking laudanum, before the unhappy victim is seised with total stupefaction.

† It would seem, then, that the act of suicide is neither good nor bad unless committed with, or against, the consent of "priests and the counsel:" this is at least a very unphilosophical mode of arguing—making other men's feelings and reasonings the criterion of our own!

consumed, they cast unburied into some stinking marsh.

The woman is not *married* before she be eighteen years old. The man is four years elder before he marry. If either the man or the woman be proved to have actually offended before their marriage with another, the party that so hath trespassed is sharply punished; and both the offenders be forbidden ever after in all their life to marry: unless the fault be forgiven by the prince's pardon. Both the good man and good wife of the house, where that offence is committed, as being slack and negligent in looking to their charge, be in danger of great reproach and infamy. That offence is so sharply punished, because they perceive that unless they be diligently kept from the liberty of this vice, few will join together in the love of marriage, wherein all the life must be led with one, and also all the griefs and displeasures coming therewith, patiently be taken and born.

Furthermore, in choosing wives and husbands, they observe earnestly and straightly

a custom * which seemed to us very fond and foolish. For a grave and honest matron

* "Lord Bacon in his New Atlantis, takes notice of the custom mentioned here, and objects to it as implying 'a scorn to give refusal after so familiar a knowledge.' But because of many hidden defects in men and women's bodies, he establishes in his common-wealth, another which he calls 'a more civil way'—'Near every town are a couple of pools—which they call Adam and Eve's pools—where it is permitted to one of the friends of the man, and another of the friends of the woman to see them severally bathe * naked." WARNER.

By whose suggestions, or from what incident, More has framed his *law of marriage* among the Utopians, it were now idle to conjecture; that it is ridiculous, indelicate, and unproductive of good, must be readily admitted. He himself entertained the highest sense of marriage, in a religious point of view, as may be seen by his answer to Tindal's Preface, among his works, p. 378. Burton, the cele-

* Bacon was probably induced to substitute this law, from a recollection of its being the custom of our ancestors (as it is still at Berne) for the sexes sometimes to *bathe promiscuously*. "Wenceslaus, Emperor and King of Bohemia, who died in 1418, was much attached to the bathing-girl who attended him during his captivity, and for whose sake he is said to have bestowed many privileges and immunities on the owners of the baths at Baden." This anecdote is told from Lambecius, by Mr. Ellis, in his Specimens of the Early English Poets, vol. i. 345, 6. note.

sheweth the woman, be she maid or widow, naked to the wooer: and likewise a sage and discreet man exhibiteth the wooer naked to the woman. At this custom we laughed, and disallowed it as foolish. But they, on

brated author of the Anatomy of Melancholy, fol. edit. 1652, p. 627. tells us that "Lycurgus appointed [the above custom] in his laws, and More in his Utopian commonwealth approves of it." "Francis Sforza," continues he, "Duke of Milan, was so curious in this behalf that he would not marry the Duke of Mantua's daughter, except he might see her naked first. In Italy, as a traveller observes, if a man have three or four daughters, or more, and they prove fair, they are married eftsoones: if deformed, they change their lovely names of *Lucia, Cynthia, Camæna* —call them *Dorothie, Ursula,* and *Briget*—and so put them into monasteries! as if none were fit for marriage but such as are eminentlie faire: but these (adds our author) are erroneous tenets—a modest virgin, well conditioned, to such a fair snout-piece is much to be preferred!"

The epigram of Ausonius on this subject is, perhaps, among the happiest extant:

"Nec mihi cincta Diana placet, nec nuda Cythere,
Illa voluptatis nil habet, hæc nimium." Epig. xxviii.

It is absurd to suppose that More was seriously impressed with the excellence of the above custom; however, in his own conduct, he might have shewn himself to be a staunch friend to wedlock.

the other part, do greatly wonder at the folly of all other nations, which in *buying a colt*, (whereas a little money is in hazard) be so chary and circumspect, that though he be almost all bare, yet they will not buy him, unless the saddle and all the harness be taken off—least under those coverings be hid some gall or sore. And yet in *choosing a wife*, which shall be either pleasure or displeasure to them all their life after, they be so rechless,* that all the residue of the woman's body being covered with clothes, they esteem her scarcely by one hand breadth (for they can see no more but her face), and so to join her to them, not without great jeopardy of evil agreeing together—if any thing in her body afterward should chance to offend and mislike them.

For all men be not so wise as to have respect to the virtuous condition of the party. And the endowments of the body † cause

* *Rash, negligent.*

† "Plato, says Burton, calls *beauty* a privilege of nature, nature's master-piece, a dumb comment; Theophrastus, a silent fraud; Carneades, still rhetorick, that persuades

the virtues of the mind more to be esteemed and regarded: yea, even the marriages of

without speech; a kingdome without a guard; because beautiful persons command as so many captains. Young men will adore and honour beauty: nay, King's themselves, I say, will do it, and voluntarily submit their sovereignty to a lovely woman." "Wine is strong, Kings are strong, but a Woman is strongest." [1 Esd. iv. 10.]—Anatomy of Melancholy, p. 454,5. edit. 1652.

"We desire to dye of our good wills," (says Boiastuau), and gladly sacrifice ourselves for the *beautie* of some persons; and we are so stirred, even to become out of our wits, by the prickings and provocations of this *faire and beautiful face!* Moreover, there is another miracle in the face, the which, although it bee not above the greatnesse of halfe a foote, notwithstanding, in the least mutation or chaunging thereof, appeareth the difference of men—joyful and sorrowfull—of the hardy and the fearefull, of the angry and of the pitifull, of the lover and of him that hateth, of him that liveth in hope and he that is without hope, of whole and of the sicke, of the living and of the dead—with other infinite affections, as well of the body as of the soule! For this cause it is that the great philosopher Trismigisteus, after hee had profoundlye plunged in the contemplation of this humane worke, cried out, saieng, "Where is the painter, so well sorting his colours, that could paint these faire eyes that are the windowes of the body, and glasses of the soul? Who hath formed the lippes and the mouth, and knit together the sinewes? Who hath mingled

wise men. Verily, so foul deformity may be hid under those coverings, that it may quite alienate and take away the man's mind from his wife, when it shall not be lawful for their bodies to be separate again. If such deformity happen by any chance after the

the veines like water brookes, divided all over the body—by the which, the humour and the blood running into divers parts deweth all the members with juyces and liquors?" See The Theatre or Rule of the World, p. 236, 7.

The foregoing passage is written very much in the spirit of the "Epistle to the Reader," prefixed to the Second Part of PRIMAYDAYE'S French Academie, Lond. 4to. 1605; and probably gave rise to many sentiments conveyed in that pious but ponderous performance. I suspect that Burton, the author of the Anatomy of Melancholy, was intimately acquainted with Boiastuau's book, as translated by Alday —for there are passages in Burton's "Love Melancholy," (the most extraordinary and amusing part of his work,) which bear a very strong resemblance to many in the "Gests and Countenances ridiculous of Lovers," at p. 195, of Boiastuau's Theatre or Rule of the World. As this will be the last time of my mentioning the name of BOIASTUAU, I take this opportunity of recommending his curious book to the antiquarian reader, and to assure him that the translation of Alday conveys all the spirit and interest of the original. It is referred to in Ritson's Bibliographia Poetica, p. 114.

marriage is consummate and finished, well: therein is no remedy but patience: every man must take his fortune well in worth.* But it were well done that a law were made whereby all such deceits might be eschewed and avoided before hand.

And this were they constrained more earnestly to look upon, because *they only*, of the nations in that part of the world, be content every man with *one wife a-piece*. And matrimony is there never broken but by death: except adultery break the bond, or else the intolerable wayward manners of either party. For if either of them find themselves for any such cause grieved, they may, by the license of the counsel, change and take another. But the other party liveth ever after in infamy, and out of wedlock. Howbeit, the husband to put away his wife for no other fault, but for that some mishap is fallen to her body, this by no means they will suffer! for they judge it a great point of cruelty, that any body in their most need of

* "Every man must bear his lot as well as he is able." "suam quisque sortem necesse ferat."

in that behalf have suffered wrong, being help and comfort should be cast of and forsaken; and that old age, which both bringeth sickness with it, and is a sickness itself, should unkindly and unfaithfully be dealt withal.* But now and then it chanceth, whereas the man and woman cannot well agree between themselves, both of them finding other with whom they hope to live more quietly and merrily, that they, by the full consent of them both, be divorced asunder and married again to other. But that not without the authority of the counsel: which agreeth to no divorces before they and their wives have diligently tried and examined the matter. Yea, and then also they be loth to consent to it; because they know this to be the next way to break love between man and wife—to be in easy hope of a new marriage!

Breakers of wedlock be punished with most grievous bondage: and if both the offenders were married, then the parties which

* This, it must be confessed, is a sound and virtuous maxim; more worthy of Utopian wedlock than the ridiculous introduction of the bridal parties.

divorced from the adulterers, be married together if they will, or else to whom they list. But if either of them both do still continue in love toward so unkind a bedfellow, the use of wedlock is not to them forbidden; if the party faultless be disposed to follow, in toiling and drudgery, the person which for that offence is condemned to bondage. And very oft it chanceth that the repentance of the one, and the earnest diligence of the other, doth so move the prince with pity and compassion, that he restoreth the bond person from servitude to liberty and freedom again. But if the same party be taken eftsoons * in that fault, there is no other way but death. To other trespasses no prescript punishment is appointed by any law. But according to the heinousness of the offence, or contrary, so the punishment is moderated by the discretion of the counsel. The husbands chastise their wives †

* *Afterwards.*

† The husband, by the old *common law* of England, might give his wife "moderate correction;" and the lower orders of people, (who are always fond of the old common law) still claim and exercise their ancient privilege. The *instrument* of castigation has yet, however, been imper-

and the parents their children, unless they have done any so horrible an offence that the open punishment thereof maketh much for the advancement of honest manners.

But most commonly the most heinous faults be punished with the incommodity of bondage. For that they suppose to be to the offenders no less grief, and to the common-wealth more profit, than if they should hastily put them to death, and so make them quite out of the way. For there cometh more profit of their labour than of their death*, and by their example they fear other the longer from like offences.* But if they being thus used, do rebel and kick again, then forsooth they be slain as desperate and wild beasts; whom neither prison nor chain

fectly defined, notwithstanding the dictum of a late learned judge at Nisi Prius. The *civil law* gave the husband a very unwarrantable authority over his wife—[" flagellis et fustibus acriter verberare uxorem"]—" to beat her severely with whips and cudgels." See Blackstone's Commentaries, vol. i. 444. edit. 1787.

* More here takes another opportunity of expressing his abhorrence of capital punishments.—See the note in vol. i, p. 78.

could restrain and keep under. But they which take their bondage patiently, be not left all hopeless. For after they have been broken and tamed with long miseries, if then they shew such repentance, as thereby it may be perceived that they be sorrier for their offence than for their punishment—sometimes by the prince's prerogative, and sometimes by the voice or else consent of the people—their bondage either is mitigated, or clean released and forgiven.

He that moveth to adultery is in no less danger and jeopardy, than if he had committed adultery in deed. For in all offences they count the intent * and pretended purpose, as evil as the act or deed itself; thinking that no let ought to excuse him, that did his best to have no let.

* In this country, on trials for murder, the killing must be proved to have been committed with *malice prepense*, or premeditated malice; and this malice may be either expressed or implied. Expressed, when any one, with a determined intention, or deliberately formed design, murders another: implied, when one kills another suddenly, without any, or without a considerable, provocation; for no person, unless of an abandoned heart, would be guilty of such an act. All homicide is presumed to be *malicious*,

They have singular delight and pleasure in *Fools*. And as it is a great reproach to do any of them hurt or injury, so they prohibit not to take pleasure of foolishness: for that they think doth much good to the fools. And if any man be so sad and stern that he cannot laugh neither at their words nor at their deeds, none of them be committed to his tuition, for fear least he would not intreat them gently and favourably enough: to whom they should bring no delectation, (for other goodness in them is none) much less any profit should they yield him.* To mock a man for his deformity,

until the contrary appear upon evidence. Blacks one's Commentaries, vol. iv. 199, &c. edit. 1787.

* "This was inserted probably in order to make an apology for the custom of his own country at that time; in which every man of fashion—as we call them—had his fool to divert him, as regularly as the same men now have their valet de chambre to dress them: and this is a much better apology for that custom of our ancestors, than can be made for this of our cotemporaries: the one might be absurd, but the other is pernicious." WARNER.

The reader has already (vol. i. p. 90.) had some account of the fashion of these times, in monarchs and great

or that he lacketh one part or limb of his body, is counted great dishonesty and reproach, not to him that is mocked, but to him that mocketh; it being unwise to imbraid any man of that as a vice that was not in his power to eschew. Also as they count and reckon very little wit to be in him that regardeth not natural beauty and comeliness, so to help the same with paintings,* is taken for a vain and wanton pride, not without great

men keeping fools, as we do servants. The importance attached to them was very considerable, if we may judge from the following anecdote related of Cardinal Wolsey. While the Cardinal thought there was yet a chance of reconciliation with Henry, after his disgrace, "he sent to the king as the most valuable of all his gifts, *his fool* PATCH, whom he had cherished as one reserve of happiness in his misfortunes."—Davies' Dramatic Miscellanies, vol. i. 408,9.

* We may infer from this sentiment that *face-painting* was as prevalent in the reign of Henry VIII. as it is in that of Geo. III. Among the fashionable females of the present day, this practice is carried on in the most absurd and unnatural manner: these ladies perhaps are not aware of "Certaine edicts from a parliament in EUTOPIA, written by the *Lady Southwell*,"—among which we find "That no Lady that useth to paint, shall finde fault with her painter that hath not counterfeited her picture faire enough—unless she will

infamy. For they know even by very expe-

acknowledge *herselfe* to be the *better counterfeiter!*" See Sir Thomas Overbury's Characters. Sign. R. 2.

The most pernicious fashion in use among the women of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was that of *painting*. It appears from the Hist. Litt. des Troubadours, t. iii. 167. that the ladies used a mixture of quick silver and various drugs for painting, as well as the common red and white. See Mr. Ellis's Sp. Early Engl. Poets. vol. i. 337. 8.

"The first mention, says Strutt, that I remember to have seen of *painting the face* being used in England, is in a very old MS. preserved in the Harleian library, of the date, probably of the 14th century, wherein is the following

"*Recipe for to make a fair face,*

Mix together the milk of an ass, and of a black cow, and brimstone, of each a like quantity; and annoint thy face, so thou shalt be fair and white!"

Manners and Customs of the English, vol. iii. 103.

In one of Dekker's pieces, not of the most delicate title, a courtezan's toilet is described to consist of "a table, a cushion, a looking-glass, and a chafing-dish, with a small phial of white mixture, and two little pots; one of white, the other of red paint."—Ibid.

In whatever criminal point of view the custom of *face-painting* might have been considered by our ancestors, we find that it continued as uninterruptedly in the 17th*, as it

* Perhaps the most curious picture of the paraphernalia of a toilet, and the costume of full dress, in these times, is

rience, that no comeliness of beauty doth so highly commend and advance the wives in

did in the 16th and 15th centuries. Prynne, in his "Unloveliness of Love Locks," 1628, and in his famous "Histrio-Mastix," 1633, levelled against it all the fury of his invectives; calling it "an accursed hellish art," [pp. 159, &c. 890]; and raking up, from the Fathers, every sentiment of disdain and indignation with which their voluminous folios supplied him in abundance.

In the year 1662, a less virulent, but more powerful advocate appeared against the art of *face-painting*—this was the author of "A Discourse of Artificial Beauty, in point of Conscience between two Ladies," 8vo. with a frontispiece

the following,—written by Anthony Brewer, in his play called "Lingua," 1607. "Tis five hours ago I set a dozen maids to attire a boy like a nice gentlewoman! but there is such doing with their looking-glasses, pinning, unpinning, setting, unsetting, forming, and conforming—*painting blue veins, and bloomy cheeks;* such a stir with sticks, and combs, and cascanets, dressings, jewels, falls, squares, busks, bodice scarfs, necklaces, carcanets, rabatoes, borders, tires, fanns, palisadoes, puffs, ruffs, cuffs, muffs, pusles, fusles, partlets, frislets, bundlets, fillets, croslets, pendulets, annulets, amulets, bracelets, and so many lets, that yet she's scarce drest to the girdle; and now there is such calling for fardingales, kirtles, busk points, shoe ties, &c. that seven pedlars shops, nay all Stourbridge fair, will scarce furnish her. A ship is sooner rigg'd by far, than a gentlewoman made ready."

This play is reprinted in Doddesley's Collection of Old Plays. Some account of it may be seen in Baker's Biogr. Dram. vol. i. 43. edit. 1782.

the conceits of their husbands, as honest conditions, and lowliness: for as love is oftentimes won with beauty, so it is not kept, preserved, and continued, but by virtue and obedience.

of two women; the one plainly arrayed, with her hand upon the Bible, pointing to the other—who is represented with a fan in her hand, and her face covered with beauty spots. Beneath is this Greek motto, "Νοῦν χρὴ θεάσθαι"—"The *mind* is the principal thing which ought to be seen." The supposed author of this work is no less a writer than JEREMY TAYLOR—the preface, which is admirably written, and is in every respect worthy of his high reputation, artfully assigns to it a female author.

CHAPTER IX.

Spirit of the Laws.

THEY do not only fear their people from doing evil by punishments, but also allure them to virtue with rewards of honour. Therefore they set up in the market place the images of notable men, and of such as have been bountiful benefactors to the common-wealth, for the perpetual memory of their good acts: and also that the glory and renown of the ancestors may stir and provoke their posterity to virtue. He that inordinately and ambitiously desireth promotions, is left all hopeless for ever attaining any promotion as long as he liveth. They live together lovingly: for no magistrate is either haughty or fearful. Fathers they be called, and like fathers they use themselves. The citizens (as it is their duty) willingly exhibit unto them due honour without any compulsion. Nor is the PRINCE himself

known from the other by princely apparel, or a robe of state, or by a crown or diadem royal, or cap of maintenance,* but by a little sheaf of corn carried before him. And so a taper of wax is born before the BISHOP, whereby only he is known.

They have but few laws. For to people to instruct and institute, very few do suffice. Yea, this thing they chiefly reprove among other nations, that innumerable † books of laws and expositions upon the same be not sufficient. But they think it against all right and justice, that men should be bound to those laws which either be in number more than be able to be read, or else blinder and darker than that any man can well understand them. Furthermore, they utterly ex-

* This is gratuitous in the translation—"vestis aut diadema" being the expressions of More.

† The *Statute Law* only of this country is at present comprised in no fewer than twenty quarto volumes. The statutes enacted during the present reign of George III. are considerably more numerous than those enacted by the whole line of preceding British kings. Viner, sixty years ago, wrote an *abridgement* of the common and statute laws of England in twenty-four folio volumes!

clude and banish all attornies, proctors, and serjeants at the law,* which craftily handle matters, and subtily dispute of the laws. For they think it most meet that every man should plead his own matter, and tell the same tale to the judge, that he would tell to his man of law. So shall there be less circumstance of words, and the truth shall sooner come to light, whilst the judge with a discreet judgment doth away the words of him, whom no lawyer hath instructed with deceit, and whilst he beareth out simple wits against the false and malicious circumventions of crafty children.† This is hard to be

* How this would be relished at the present day—let us ask "attornies, proctors, and serjeants at law?" More was not Chancellor of England when he reasoned thus.

† It is said of More, that at his coming into office of Chancellor, "he found the Court of Chancerie pestered and clogged with manie and tedious causes, some having hung there almost twentie years." Before he left the situation, he one day called "for the next cause?" upon which he was answered there was "*none other upon the list*"—this, say his biographers, he caused "*to be put* UPON RECORD, AS A NOTABLE THING!" When will this day return?

observed in other countries, in so infinite a number of blind and intricate laws. But in UTOPIA every man is a * cunning lawyer. For as (I said) they have very few laws: and the plainer and grosser that any interpretation is, that they allow as most just. For all laws (say they) be made and published only to the intent that by them every man shall be put in remembrance of his duty. But the crafty and subtle interpretation of them (forasmuch as few can attain thereto) can put very few in that remembrance; whereas the simple, the plain, and gross meaning of the laws is open to every man. Else as touching the vulgar sort of the people, which be both most in number, and have most need to know their duties, were it not as good for them, that no law were made at all, as, when it is made, to bring so blind an interpretation upon it, that without great wit and long arguing no man can discuss it? To the finding out whereof, neither the gross judgment of the people can attain, neither the whole life of them that be occupied in working for

* *Skilful.*

their livings can suffice thereto. These virtues of the *Utopians* have caused their next neighbours and borderers, which live free and under no subjection, (for the *Utopians* long ago have delivered many of them from tyranny) to make magistrates of them, some for a year, and some for five years space; which, when the time of their office is expired, they bring home again with honour and praise and take new again with them into their country.

These nations have undoubtedly very well and wholesomely provided for their common-wealths. For seeing that both the making and the marring of the weal-public, doth depend and hang upon the manners of the rulers and magistrates, what officers could they more wisely have chosen, than those which cannot be led from honesty by bribes (for to them that shortly after shall depart thence into their own country, money should be unprofitable), nor yet be moved either with favour or malice towards any man, as being strangers, and unacquainted with the people? The which two vices

of affection and avarice, where they take in judgments, incontinent* they break justice—the strongest and surest bond of a common-wealth. These people, which fetch their officers and rulers from them, the *Utopians* call their fellows: and other, to whom they have been beneficial, they call their friends. As touching leagues, which in other places between country and country be so often concluded, broken, and renewed, they never make none with any nation. For to what purpose serve leagues, say they! As though nature had not set sufficient love between man and man! And whoso regardeth not nature, think you that he will pass for words? They be brought into this opinion chiefly because, that, in these parts of the world, leagues between princes be wont to be kept and observed very slenderly. For here in *Europe*, and especially in these parts where the faith and religion of Christ reigneth, the majesty of leagues is every where esteemed holy and inviolable: partly through the justice and goodness of princes,

* *Immediately: directly.*

and partly at the reverence and motion of the head bishops. Which, like as they make no promise themselves, but they do very religiously perform the same, so they exhort all princes in any wise to abide by their promises; and them that refuse or deny so to do, by their pontifical power and authority, they compel thereto. And surely they think well that it might seem a very reproachful thing, if in the leagues of them which by a peculiar name be called faithful, faith should have no place!* But in that newfound part of the world, which is scarcely so far from us beyond the line equinoctial, as our life and manners be dissident† from theirs, no trust nor confidence is in leagues. But the more and holier ceremony the league is knit up with, the sooner it is broken by some cavillation‡ found in the words, which many times of purpose be so craftily

* How faithfully leagues were kept in More's time, between Emperors, Popes, and Kings, let the pages of Dr. Robertson's Charles V. tell!

† Disagreeing—from the Latin *dissideo*,

‡ The old substantive for *cavil*,

put in and placed that the bands can never be so sure nor so strong, but they will find some hole open to creep out at, and to break both league and truth.

The which crafty dealing, yea the which fraud and deceit, if they should know it to be practised among private men in their bargains and contracts, they would incontinent cry out at it with an open mouth, and a sour countenance, as an offence most detestable, and worthy to be punished with a shameful death; yea even * very they that vaunt themselves authors of like counsel, given to princes. Wherefore it may well be thought, either that all justice is but a base and a low virtue, and which availeth itself far under the high dignity of kings—or, at the least wise, that there be two justices: the one meet for the inferior sort of the people; going a-foot and creeping low by the ground, and bound down on every side with many bands, because it shall not run at rovers—the other, a princely virtue; which, like as it is of much higher majesty than the other poor

* *They themselves.*

justice, so also it is of much more liberty; as to the which, nothing is unlawful that it lusteth after. These manners of princes (as I said), which be there so evil keepers of leagues, cause the *Utopians*, as I suppose, to make no leagues at all; which perchance would change their mind if they lived here. Howbeit, they think that though leagues be never so faithfully observed and kept, yet the custom of making leagues was very evil begun. For this causeth men (as though nations which be separate asunder by the space of a little hill, or river, were coupled together by no society or bond of nature) to think themselves born adversaries and enemies one to another, and that it were lawful for the one to seek the death and destruction of the other, if leagues were not: yea, and that after the leagues be accorded, friendship doth not grow and increase: but the licence of robbing and stealing doth still remain, as far forth as for lack of foresight and advisement in writing, the words of the league, any sentence or clause to the contrary, are not therein sufficiently comprehended. But they

be of a contrary opinion. That is, that no man ought so be counted an enemy which hath done no injury: and that the fellowship of nature is a strong league, and that men be better and more surely knit together by love and benevolence than by covenants of leagues: by hearty affection of mind, than by words.*

* Such are the principles of legislation by which More would govern his Utopian community. However pleasing and delightful they may appear, they are, in too many instances, founded upon a supposition of that *perfectability of human nature*, of which neither the past nor the present annals of the world afford us any examples. It is easy for the imagination to create human beings for laws; but it is not quite so easy to form laws for human beings, such as Providence has thought proper to create them. Hence it is, that our author has in a great measure flattered himself with fiction instead of truth; and that the "Spirit of the Laws" observable in Utopia, is better suited for the regions of fancy than of reality.

CHAPTER X.

*Of War.**

WAR or battle, as a thing very beastly, [and yet no kind of beasts so much use it as man] they do detest and abhor. And contrary to the custom almost of all other nations, they count nothing so much against glory, as glory gotten in war. And therefore, though they do daily practise and exercise themselves in the discipline of war, not only the men, but also the women, upon certain appointed days, least they should be to seek in the feat of arms, if need should require—yet they never go to battle, but either in the defence of their own country, or to drive out of their

* More's friend, Erasmus, seems to have entertained something like similar notions of war and peace. The "*Pacis Querela*" of this latter writer, first printed in the office of Froben, 1516, 4to. with Polydore Virgil's "Book of Proverbs," [see Panzer's Annal. Typog. vol. vi. 198.] is a truly original and beautiful composition.

friends' land the enemies that have invaded it:* or by their power to deliver from the yoke and bondage of tyranny, some people that be therewith oppressed; which thing they do of mere pity and compassion. Howbeit, they send help to their friends, not always in their defence, but sometimes also to requite and revenge injuries before to them done.† But this they do not unless their counsel and advice in the matter be asked, whilst it is yet new and fresh—for if they find the cause probable, and if the contrary part will not restore again such things as be of them justly demanded, then they be

* "That be comen in," in the translation of 1551.

† "Quanquam auxilium gratificantur amicis, non semper quidem quo se defendant, sed interdum quoque illatas retalient atque ulciscantur injurias." In the French translation: "Les Utopiens fournissent donc de leur propre finance des troupes auxiliaires à leurs amis. Ils ne le font pas seulement pour aider les voisins à repousser l'attaque, à se defendre contre les injustes agresseurs; ils les secourent aussi pour leur donner moien d'exercer *la loi du talion*, et de se venger du tort et des injustices qu'ils ont souffert." This is paraphrastic enough; but probably it conveys the meaning of More.

the chief authors and makers of the war. Which they do, not only as oft as by the inroads and invasions of soldiers, preys and booties be driven away, but then also much more mortally, when their friends merchants in any land, either under the pretence of unjust laws, or else by the wresting and wrong understanding of good laws, do sustain an unjust accusation under the colour of justice.

Neither the battle which the *Utopians* fought for the *Nephelogetes* against the *Alaopolitanes*, a little before our time, was made for any other cause but that the *Nephelogete* merchant-men, as the *Utopians* thought, suffered wrong of the *Alaopolitans*, under the pretence of right. But whether it were right or wrong, it was with so cruel and mortal war revenged, the countries round about joining their help and power to the puissance and malice of both parties, that most flourishing and wealthy people, being some of them shrewdly* shaken and some of them sharply beaten, the mis-

* *Destructively.*

chiefs were not finished nor ended, until the *Alaopolitans* at the last were yielded up as bondmen into the jurisdiction of the *Nephelogetes*. For the *Utopians* fought not this war for themselves. And yet the *Nephelogetes* before the war, when the *Alaopolitanes* flourished in wealth, were nothing to be compared with them. So eagerly the *Utopians* prosecute the injuries done to their friends: yea, in money matters, and not their own likewise. For if they by covin or guile be wiped* beside their goods, so that no violence be done to their bodies, they ease their anger by abstaining from occupying with that nation until they have made satisfaction. Not for because they set less store by their own citizens than by their friends', but that they take the loss of their friends money more heavily than the loss of their own. Because that their friends' merchantmen, for as much as that the loss is their own private goods, sustain great damage by the loss.

* This expression is strong, and peculiar to "Master Raphe Robinson" In the Latin, it is "qui sicubi circumscripti bonis excidant."

But their own citizens lose nothing but of the common goods, and of that which was at home plentiful and almost superfluous; else had it not been sent forth. Therefore no man feeleth the loss. And for this cause they think it too cruel an act to revenge the loss with the death of man; the incommodity of the which loss no man feeleth, neither in his life, nor yet in his living. But if it chance that any of their men be in any other country maimed or killed, whether it be done by a common or a private counsel, (knowing and trying out the truth of the matter by their ambassadors,) unless the offenders be rendered unto them in recompense of the injury, they will not be appeased: but incontinent they proclaim war against them. The offenders yielded, they punish either with death, or with bondage.

They be not only sorry, but also ashamed, to achieve the victory with bloodshed; counting it great folly to buy precious wares too dear. They rejoice and avaunt* them-

* For "*vaunt:*" boast.

selves, if they vanquish and oppress their enemy by craft and deceit. And for that act they make a general triumph; and as if the matter were manfully handled, they set up a pillar of stone in the place where they so vanquished their enemies, in token of their victory. For then they glory; then they boast and crack * that they have played the men indeed, when they have so overcome, as no other living creature but only man could: that is to say, by the might and puissance of wit! For with bodily strength (say they) bears, lions, boars, wolves, dogs, and other wild beasts do fight. And as the most part of them do pass us in strength and fierce courage, so in wit and reason we be

* Meaning, that they exult exceedingly. In the original Latin it is simply "viriliter sese jactant." Shakspeare rarely introduces the *verb* "crack" in the above sense.—["And Ethiops of their sweet complexions crack"—cited in Johnson's Dictionary.] The *substantive* "crack" is ably discussed in the volumes x. 22.; xii. 129; xvi. 32. of Reed's edit. 1803. Neither Minsheu, Skinner, nor Junius were acquainted with the verb "crack," as here used by Robinson.

much stronger than they all. Their chief and principal purpose in war is to obtain that thing, which, if they had before obtained, they would not have moved battle. But if that be not possible, they take such cruel vengeance of them which be in the fault, that ever after they be afraid to do the like.

This is their chief and principal intent which they immediately and first of all prosecute and set forward. But yet so, that they be more circumspect in avoiding and eschewing jeopardies, than they be desirous of praise and renown. Therefore immediately after that war is once solemnly denounced, they procure many proclamations, signed with their own common seal, to be set up privily at one time in their enemies land in places most frequented. In these proclamations they promise great rewards to him that will kill * their enemy's prince; and somewhat less gifts, (but them very great also), for

* This is a very unphilosophical and unjust mode of reasoning and of acting. Mr. Roscoe somewhere well observes in his Lorenzo de Medici, that no principle, no combination of circumstances whatever, can justify *assassination*.

every head of them whose names be in the said proclamations contained. They be those whom they count their chief adversaries, next unto the prince whom there is prescribed. Unto him that killeth any of the proclaimed persons, that is doubled to him that bringeth any of the same to them alive: yea, and to the proclaimed persons themselves, if they will change their minds and come unto them: taking their parts, they proffer the same great rewards, with pardon and surety of their lives. Therefore it quickly cometh to pass that their enemies have all other men in suspicion, and be unthankful and mistrusting among themselves one to another, living in great fear and in no less jeopardy. For it is well known, that divers times the most part of them, (and specially the prince himself) hath been betrayed of them in whom they put their most hope and trust. So there is no manner of act nor deed that gifts and rewards do not enforce men unto. And in rewards they keep no measure. But remembering and considering into how great hazard and jeopardy they call them, endeavour

themselves to recompense the greatness of the danger with like great benefits. And therefore they promise not only wonderful great abundance of gold, but also lands of great revenues, lying in most safe places among their friends. And their promises they perform faithfully without any fraud or covin.

This custom of buying and selling adversaries, among other people is disallowed as a cruel act of a base and a cowardish mind. But they in this behalf think themselves much praiseworthy as men who by this means dispatch great wars without battle or skirmish. Yea, they count it also a deed of pity and mercy; because that by the death of a few offenders, the lives of a great number of innocents, as well of their own men, as also of their enemies, be ransomed and saved; which in fighting should have been slain. For they do no less pity the base and common sort of their enemies' people, than they do their own: knowing that they be driven and forced to war against their wills, by the furious madness of their Princes and Heads. If by none of these means the

matter go forward as they would have it, then they procure occasions of debate and dissention to be spread among their enemies. As by bringing the Princes brother, or some of the noblemen, in hope to obtain the kingdom. If this way prevail not, then they raise up the people that be next neighbours and borderers to their enemies; and them they set in their necks, under the colour of some old title of right—such as kings do never lack. To them they promise their help and aid in their war. And as for money, they give them abundance; but to their own citizens they send to them few or none: whom they make so much of, and love so entirely, that they would not be willing to change any of them for their adversary's prince. But their gold and silver, because they keep it all for this only purpose, they lay it out frankly and freely; as * who should live even as wealthily if they had bestowed it every penny. Yea, and besides their riches, which they keep at home, they

* For "*they would.*"

have also an infinite treasure abroad, by reason that (as I said before) many nations be in their debt. Therefore they hire soldiers out of all countries, and send them to battle, but chiefly of the *Zapolets*.

This people is five hundred miles from *Utopia* eastward. They be hideous, savage, and fierce; dwelling in wild woods, and high mountains, where they were bred and brought up. They be of an hard nature, able to abide and sustain heat, cold, and labour; abhorring * from all delicate dainties, occupying no husbandry nor tillage of the ground; homely and rude both in building of their houses; and in their apparel, given unto no goodness, but only to the breeding and bringing up of cattle. The most part of their living is by hunting and stealing. They be born only to war, which they diligently and earnestly seek for. And when they have gotten it, they be wonderous glad thereof. They go forth of their country in

* We say, properly, "averse from." The article "from" is now obsolete as applicable to "abhorring," or abhorrent.

great companies together, and whosoever lacketh soldiers, there they proffer their service for small wages. This is only the craft that they have to get their living by. They maintain their lives by seeking their death. For them with whom they be in wages, they fight hardly, fiercely, and faithfully. They bind themselves for no certain time. But upon this condition they enter into bonds, that the next day they will take part with the other side for greater wages; and the next day after that, they will be ready to come back again for a little more money.* There be few wars thereaway,† wherein is not a great number of them in both parties. Therefore it daily chanceth, that nigh kinsfolk, which were hired together on one part, and there very friendly and familarly used themselves one with another—shortly after, being separate into contrary parts, run one against

* This is a very strong picture of the human character; which will sometimes wade through perfidy, blood, and slaughter, for the acquisition of paltry lucre.

† *Thereabouts: in those parts.*

another enviously and fiercely: and forgeting both kindred and friendship, thrust their swords one in another. And that for none other cause, but that they be hired for contrary princes for A LITTLE MONEY! which they do so highly regard and esteem, that they will easily be provoked to change parts for a halfpenny more wages by the day! So quickly they have taken a smack in covatousness, which for all that is to them no profit; for what they get by fighting, immediately they spend needlessly, unthriftily, and wretchedly in riot!

This people fighteth for the *Utopians* against all nations, because they give them greater wages than any other nation will. For the *Utopians*, like as they seek good men to use well, so they seek these evil and vicious men to abuse: whom, when need requireth, with promises of great rewards, they put forth into great jeopardies. From whence the most part of them never cometh again to ask their rewards. But to them that remain alive, they pay that which they promised faithfully; that they may be the

more willing to put themselves in like danger another time. Nor the *Utopians* pass * not how many of them they bring to destruction. For they believe that they should do a very good deed for all mankind, if they could rid out of the world all that foul stinking den of that most wicked and cursed people.

Next unto these, they use the soldiers of them for whom they fight: and then the help of their other friends, and last of all, they join to their own citizens; among whom they give to one of tried virtue and powers, the rule, governance, and conduction of the whole army. Under him they appoint two other, which, whilst he is safe, be both private and out of office. But if he be taken or slain, the one of the other succeedeth him, as it were by inheritance. And if the second miscarry, then the third taketh his room, least that (as the

* *Care not: consider not.* "Neque enim pensi quicquam habent, quam multos ex eis perdant; rati de genere humano maximam merituros gratiam se, si tota illa colluvie populi tam tetri ac nefarii, orbem terrarum purgare possent."

chance of battle is uncertain and doubtful) the jeopardy of death of the captain should bring the whole army in hazard. They choose soldiers out of every city, those which put forth themselves willingly; for they thrust no man forth into war against his will: because they believe if any man be fearful and faint-hearted of nature, he will not only do no manful and hardy act himself, but also be occasion of cowardness to his fellows. But if any battle be made against their own country, then they put these cowards (so that they be strong bodied) in ships among other bold-hearted men, or else they dispose them upon the walls, from whence they may not fly. Thus, what for shame that their enemies be at hand, and what for because they be without hope of running away, they forget all fear.* And

* It is sometimes the practice of modern generalship to put raw and doubtful troops in front of those battalions which are to commence the action: hence, these troops have the benefit of receiving the first round of grape and canister shot, which are discharged from batteries and ramparts, &c.! We all remember how Doumourier won the battle of Jemappe!

many times extreme necessity turneth cowardness into prowess and manliness. But as none of them is thrust forth of his country into war against his will, so women, that be willing to accompany their husbands in time of war, be not prohibited or letted; yea, they provoke and exhort them to it with praises; and, in set field, the wives do stand every one by their own husband's side; also every man is compassed next about with his own children, kinsfolks, and alliance.—That they, whom nature chiefly moveth to mutual succor, thus standing together, may help one another. It is a great reproach and dishonesty for the husband to come home without his wife, or the wife without her husband, or the son without his father. And therefore if the other part stick so hard by it, that the battle come to their hands, it is fought with great slaughter and bloodshed, even to the utter destruction of both parties: for as they make all the means and shifts that may be, to keep themselves from the necessity of fighting, or that they may dispatch the battle by their hired soldiers, so when there is no remedy, but

they must needs fight *themselves*, then they do as courageously fall to it, as before (whilst they might) they did wisely avoid and refuse it. Nor be they most fierce at the first brunt: but in continuance by little and little their fierce courage encreaseth with so stubborn and obstinate minds, that they will rather die than give back an inch. For that surety of living, which every man hath at home, being joined with no careful anxiety or remembrance how their posterity shall live after them, (for this pensiveness oftentimes breaketh and abateth courageous stomachs), makes them stout and hardy, and disdainful to be conquered.* Moreover, their knowledge in chivalry † and feats of arms

* Burnet and Warner thus translate this sentence: "For the certainty that their children will be well looked after when they are dead, frees them from all that anxiety concerning them, which often masters men of great courage; and thus they are animated by a noble and invincible resolution."

† For an interesting account [among the many which may be referred to] of the origin and nature of *Tournaments*, so prominent a feature in chivalry, I recommend the reader to peruse Mr. Ellis's note to "The Three

putteth them in a good hope. Finally, the wholesome and virtuous opinions, wherein they were brought up even from their childhood, partly through learning, and partly through the good ordinance and laws of their weal-public, augment and increase their manful courage. By reason whereof, they neither set so little store by their lives, that they will rashly and unadvisedly cast them away; nor be they so far in lewd * and fond love therewith, that they will shamefully covet to keep them, when honesty biddeth leave them.

When the battle is hottest, and in all places most fierce and fervent, a band of chosen and picked young men, which be sworn to live and die together, take upon them to destroy their adversary's captain; whom they invade now with privy wiles, now by open strength: at him they strike both near and far off: he is assailed with a long and

Knights and the Smock," in Mr. Way's Fabliaux—vol. ii. p. 184.

* *Idle—indifferent—stupid.* It is frequently used by our old writers in this sense.

a continual assault, fresh men still coming in the wearied men's places. And seldom it chanceth (unless he save himself by flying) that he is not either slain or else taken prisoner, and yielded to his enemies alive. If they win the field, they persecute not their enemies with the violent rage of slaughter: for they had rather take them alive than kill them. Neither do they follow the chase and pursuit of their enemies, but they leave behind them one part of their host in battle array, under their standards. Insomuch, that if all their whole army be discomfited and overcome, saving the rearward and that they therewith achieve the victory, then they had rather let all their enemies scape, than to follow them out of array; for they remember it hath chanced unto themthemselves more than once — the whole power and strength of their host being vanquished and put to flight, whilst their enemies rejoicing in the victory, have persecuted them, flying some one away and some another—a small company of their men lying in ambush, there ready at all occasions, have

suddenly risen upon them thus dispersed and scattered out of array, and through presumption of safety unadvisedly pursuing the chase, have incontinent changed the fortune of the whole battle: and, spite of their teeths, wresting out of their hands the sure and undoubted victory—being a little before conquered—have for their part conquered the conquerors.

It is hard to say whether they be craftier in laying an ambush, or wittier in avoiding the same. You would think they intend to fly, when they mean nothing less. And contrarywise, when they go about that purpose you would believe it were the least part of their thought. For if they perceive themselves overmatched in number, or closed in too narrow a place, then they remove their camp either in the night season with silence, or by some policy they deceive their enemies, or in the day time they retire back so softly, that it is no less jeopardy to meddle with them when they give back than when they press on. They fence and fortify their camp surely, with a deep and a broad

trench; the earth thereof is cast inward. Nor do they set drudges and slaves at work about it: it is done by the hands of the soldiers themselves. All the whole army worketh upon it, except them that keep watch in armour * before the trench for sudden adventures. Therefore by the labour of so many, a large trench, closing in a great compass of ground, is made in less time than any man would believe.

Their armour or harness, which they wear, is sure and strong to receive strokes, and handsome for all movings and gestures of the body, insomuch that it is not unwieldy to swim in. For in the discipline of their warfare, among other feats, they learn to swim in harness. Their weapons be arrows aloof, which they shoot both strongly and surely, nor only footmen, but also horsemen. At hand strokes they use not swords, but poll-axes; which be mortal as well in sharpness as in weight, both for foynes † and down

* "Harness"—in the English edit. of 1551.

† A *thrust*, as in fencing; the word is frequently used by Shakspeare. It means that the weapon has a keen edge

strokes. Engines for war they devise and invent wondrous wittily; which when

or point to thrust with, and is weighty to make a powerful "down stroke."

This part of the UTOPIA is curious, inasmuch as it makes us acquainted with the species of military weapons used by the English at the opening of the 16th century. Dr. Henry informs us, that the weapons and armour of this period were, with little variations, such as the famous assize of arms, made by Henry II. A. D. 1181, had appointed. The armour of the CAVALRY consisted of many different pieces nicely jointed, to allow freedom of motion and exertion of strength: the whole was well tempered, finely polished, and, among the higher orders, often beautifully gilt. A shield, of an oval form, was borne on the left arm to ward off the adversary's blows: a long spear, or lance, made of light and strong wood, and pointed with sharp and strong steel—a long and broad sword, double edged and sharp pointed, and a short dirk or dagger—these formed the offensive weapons. The *horses* of the princes or barons were sometimes clad in complete armour of steel or iron; so that a knight, thus equipped, was almost invulnerable.

Of the INFANTRY, the defensive armour of a *man at arms* was a coat of mail, a helmet, and a shield—the offensive weapons, a spear and a sword: the defensive armour of an *ordinary foot soldier* was a wambois, or jacket twilted with cotton, and an iron scull-cap—his offensive arms, a spear, or a bow and arrows, or a sling, with a sword. Men

they be made, they keep very secret, lest if they should be known before need require,

at arms, where prowess was most conspicuous, held the highest estimation; but the strength of the army consisted in the *archers*—who, about this period, were rendered more formidable by the addition of halberts, which they pitched on the ground till their arrows were exhausted, and with which they resisted the impression of the cavalry. See Henry's Hist. of Gr. Br. vol. vi. 193. 204. vol. xii. 283.

It was not till three years after the publication of the Utopia, that the *musket* was discharged from the shoulder: it being first employed in 1521, at the siege of Parma—and was probably soon afterwards introduced into England. Roger Ascham, who wrote his truly curious book on archery, [called "*Toxophilus,*"] in the year 1544, seems to allude to the musket in the opening of his prefatory address "To the Gentlemen and Yomen of Englande:" it is, at least, certain that this weapon was used in England before the Toxophilus was published, [A. D. 1571.] although Dr. Johnson, in the life of Ascham, prefixed to Bennet's edition of Ascham's works in 1762, p. vi. seems to doubt it. It would appear, however, that as early as the year 1563, the practice of shooting with the *bow* had in a great measure ceased:—"If but two or three noble men in the court," says Ascham, "wold but *beginne to shoote*, all young jentlemen, the whole court, all London, the whole realme, wold straightwaie exercise shooting." Schoolmaster, p. 244. Bennet's edit. * In the reign of James I. *the bow was*

"* There died about 300, most of them shot with ar-

they should be but laughed at, and serve to no purpose. But in making them here-

wholly disused—" though it was the weapon," says Johnson, " by which we gained the battle of Agincourt; and which, when handled by English yeomen, no foreign troops were able to resist." Preface to Toxophilus.

From a note in Mr. Walter Scott's " Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border," it appears that the Scots, towards the close of the sixteenth century, " had chiefly *fire arms:* the English retaining still their partiality for their ancient weapon, the *long bow.* It also appears, by a letter from the Duke of Norfolk to Cecil, that the English borderers were unskilful in fire arms, or as he says, " our countrymen be not so connyng with *shots* as I woolde wishe." See vol. i.

rows, which were reported to be of the length of a taylor's yard; so strong and mighty a bow the *Cornishmen* were said to draw." Lord Bacon's Henry VII. p. 171. edit. 1641.

" What though with our 12,000, or 15,000, we have oft defeated their armies of 50,000, or 60,000 — stands it with reason of war to expect the like success still? especially since the use of arms is changed, and for the *bow*, proper for men of our strength, the *caliver* begins to be generally revived !" Lord Herbert's Hen. VIII. p. 18. edit. 1649. " While he that carries the caliver goes unarmed, *the arrow* will have the same effect within its distance as *the bullet*, and can for one shot return two." Ibid. p. 55.

See the " Extracts from Books subsequent to the date of Toxophilus," prefixed to the neat little edition of this latter work by the Rev. John Walters, M. A. Wrexham, 1788. 8vo.

unto, they have chief respect that they be both easy to be carried, and handsome to be moved and turned about.

p. 169, of this amusing collection of ancient historical poetry.

There is a remarkable passage in the description of England, by Harrison, prefixed to Holinshed's Chronicle, 1587, which proves how much the use of the bow had declined towards the end of the 16th century. "In times past," says Harrison, the cheefe force of England consisted in their *long bowes*. But now we have in maner generallie given over that kind of artillerie, and certes, the Frenchmen and *Rutters* * deriding our new archerie in respect of their corslets, will not let in open skirmish, if anie leisure serve, to turn up their tails, and crie "Shoote English!"—and all because our strong shooting is decaied and laid in bed. But if some of our Englishmen now lived, that served king Edward the III. in his warres with France, the breech of such a varlet should have been nailed to his b—m with one arrow, and another fethered in his bowels, before he should have turned about to see who shot the first." p. 198. † Bishop Latimer, in his sixth sermon before K. Edward VI. gives an interesting account how the sons of yeoman were, in his infancy, trained up to

* *Rutters* or *Reistres* were *German horse;* brought into France during the regency of Cath. de Medicis. So named from the German *Reuter,* a horseman or trooper.

† Patritius, who wrote on the reign of James I. tells us "that *an English arrowe* with an little waxe put upon the

Truce taken with their enemies for a short time, they do so firmly and faithfully keep, that they will not break it, no not though they be thereunto provoked. They do not waste nor destroy their enemies land with forragings, nor they burn not up their corn. Yea, they save it as much as may be from being over-run and trodden down, either with men or horses, thinking that it groweth for their own use and profit. They hurt no man that is unarmed, unless he be an espyal.*

the bow. See Ritson's *Robin Hood.* Lond. 8vo. 1795, vol. i. p. xxxviii.—perhaps the most curious and amusing production which that eccentric but erudite english antiquary ever published. Ritson says that "it may be still a question whether a body of expert archers would not, even at this day, be superior to an equal number armed with muskets." p. xxxvii.

* *Spy.* The word is used by Chaucer,

"For subtilly he had his *espiaille.*"

See Steevens's note in the Shakspeare edition of 1803. vol.

point of the head, would passe through any ordinary corslette or curace." Afterwards, he adds, "all the wonders done by the Parthian bowes, were notwithstanding not to be compared to our ancient English bowes, either for strength, or for shooting." Strutt's Manners and Customs of the English, vol. ii. 40.

All cities that be yielded unto them, they defend; and such as they win by force of assault, they neither despoil nor sack; but them that withstood and dissuaded the yielding up of the same, they put to death: the other soldiers they punish with bondage. All the weak multitude they leave untouched. If they know that any citizens counselled to yield and render up the city, to them they part of the condemned men's goods: the residue they distribute and give freely among them whose help they had in the same war: for none of themselves taketh any portion of the prey. But when the battle is finished and ended, they put their friends to never a penny cost of all the charge that they were at, but lay it upon their necks that be conquered. Them they burthen with the whole charge of their expenses, which they demand of them partly in money, to be kept for the use of battle—and partly in lands of great revenues, to be paid unto them yearly for ever. Such revenues they have now

xiii. 32. xviii. 165. Mr. Malone tells us it is used likewise by Hall and Holinshed.

in many countries; which by little and little rising of divers and sundry causes, be increased above seven hundred thousand ducats by the year. Thither they send forth some of their citizens as lieutenants, to live there sumptuously, like men of honour and renown. And yet this notwithstanding, much money is saved, which cometh to the common treasury: unless it so chance that they had rather trust the country with the money; which many times they do so long, until they have need to occupy it; and it seldom happeneth that they demand all. Of these lands they assign part unto them, which at their request and exhortation, put themselves in such jeopardy as I spake of before. If any prince stir up war against them, intending to invade their land, they meet him incontinent out of their own borders with great power and strength. For they never lightly make war in their own country. Nor be they even brought into so extreme necessity, as to take help out of foreign lands into their own island.

CHAPTER XI.

Of Religion.

THERE be divers kinds of religion, not only in sundry parts of the island, but also in divers places of every city. Some worship for God, the Sun; some the Moon; some other of the planets.† There be that give worship to a man that was once of excellent

* The reader will smile at the French paraphrastic translation of the above passage, which in the English is as short and concise as the original Latin.

" Ce n'est pas seulement dans l'ile en général que le culte Divin est bigarré, c'est aussi chez toutes les parties de la nation. La croiance religieuse ne sauroit être plus partagée, ni la foi pieuse plus sujette à controversie. Chaque ville a son Dieu. L'une *se prosterne et fait ses devotions devant le flambeau de l'Univers, astre dit vulgairement le Soleil: l'autre récite ses heures* devant la Lune, *et invoque cette belle et argentine Phebé, de qui la Gent poëtique a rèvé tant de belles choses dans son insomnie ordinaire.* Telle ville fête et chomme une autre Planète &c.—but enough has been extracted to shew the occasionally rambling style of the Amst. edit. of 1730.

virtue or of famous glory, not only as GOD, but also as the chiefest and highest GOD. But* the most and the wisest part (rejecting all these) believe, that there is a certain godly power, unknown, everlasting, incomprehensible, inexplicable, far above the capacity and reach of man's wit, dispersed throughout all the whole world, not in bigness, but in virtue and power. Him they call the father of all. To him alone they attribute the beginnings, the increasings, the proceedings, the changes, and the ends of all things. Neither they give any divine honours to any other than to him; yea all the other also, though they be in divers opinions, yet in this point they agree altogether

* The above may be considered a fine and faithful translation of the beautiful passage in the original Latin. "At multo maxima pars, eademque longe prudentior, nihil horum, sed unum quoddam numen putant, incognitum, æternum, immensum, inexplicabile; quod supra mentis humanæ captum sit, per mundum hunc universum, virtute, non mole, diffusum: hunc parentem vocant. Origines, auctus, progressus, vices, finesque rerum omnium, huic acceptos uni referunt, nec divinos honores alii præterea ulli applicant."

with the wisest sort, in believing that there is one principal GOD, the maker and ruler of the whole world: whom they all commonly, in their country language, call MYTHRA.* But in this they disagree, that among some he is counted one, and among some, another: for every one of them, whatsoever that is which he taketh for the chief God, thinketh it to be the very same nature: to whose only divine might and majesty, the sum and sovereignty of all things: by the consent of all people, is attributed and given. Howbeit, they all begin by little and little to forsake and fall from this variety of superstitions, and to agree together in that religion which seemeth by reason to pass and excel

* Mithra is the name under which the ancient Persians worshipped *the Sun.* The word was also applied to the temples of worship, formed of rock, or caverns. Porphyry assures us, says Bryant, that the deity had always a rock, or cavern for his temple; that people in all places where the name of MITHRAS was known, paid their worship at a cavern. Some make a distinction between Mithras, Mithres, and Mithra, but they were all the same deity, THE SUN; esteemed the chief god of the Persians. Ancient Mythology, vol. ii. 223—230.

the residue. And it is not to be doubted but all the other would long ago have been abolished, but that whatsoever unprosperous thing happened to any of them, as he was minded to change his religion, the fearfulness of people did take it, not as a thing coming by chance, but as sent from GOD out of heaven. As though the God, whose honour he was forsaking, would have revenged that wicked purpose against him.

But after they heard us speak of the name of CHRIST, of his doctrine, laws, miracles, and of the no less wonderful constancy of so many martyrs, whose blood willingly shed brought a great number of nations throughout all parts of the world into their sect—you will not believe with how glad minds they agreed unto the same! whether it were by the secret inspiration of God, or else for that they thought it nighest unto that opinion, which among them is counted the chiefest. Howbeit, I think this was no small help and furtherance in the matter that they heard us say, that Christ instituted among his, all things common: and that the same

community doth yet remain amongst the rightest Christian companies. Verily howsoever it came to pass, many of them consented together in our religion, and were washed in the holy water of baptism. But because among us four (for no more of us was left alive, two of our company being dead) there was no priest—which I am right sorry for—they being entered and instructed in all other points of our religion, lack only those sacraments, which none but priests do minister. Howbeit, they understand and perceive them, and be very desirous of the same. Yea, they reason and dispute the matter earnestly among themselves, whether, without the sending of a Christian bishop, one chosen out of their own people, may receive the order of priesthood. And truly they were minded to choose one. But at my departure thence they had chosen none.

They also which do not agree to Christ's religion, fear *no man from it, nor speak

* "Neminem tamen *absterrent*"—"*Deter* no man from it."

against any man that hath received it, saving that one of our company in my presence was sharply punished.—He, as soon as he was baptised, began against our wills, with more earnest affection than wisdom, to reason of Christ's religion: and began to wax so hot in this matter, that he did not only prefer our religion before all other, but also did utterly despise and condemn all other—calling them prophane, and the followers of them wicked and devilish, and the children of everlasting damnation! When he had thus long reasoned the matter, they laid hold on him, accused him, and condemned him into exile; not as a despiser of religion, but as a seditious person, and a raiser up of dissension among the people. For this is one of the ancientest laws among them: that no man shall be blamed for reasoning in the maintenance of his own religion.* For king

* "It is plain that when our author wrote this history he had not any bigotry and fiery zeal in his composition. But afterwards, some how or other, he became devoted to the passions and interest of the popish clergy to a degree of superstition: and even then, however, it must be con-

UTOPUS, even at the first beginning, hearing that the inhabitants of the land were, before

fessed that his zeal carried him rather against the sedition which many ran into who favoured the Reformation, than against the doctrines which were taught. For as much attached as he was to the church of Rome, yet he was not so extravagant in his notions of the papal power as some others were: and his friend Erasmus said of him, 'that though he hated the seditious tenets with which the world was then miserably disturbed, yet it was a sufficient argument of his moderation, that whilst he was Lord Chancellor, no person was put to death for his disapproved opinion.'"

WARNER.

Nothing can afford a clearer proof of the liberality of thinking, in matters of religion, displayed by More in his early years, than the above sentiments. Probably he was not yet so rigid in his Catholic opinions, as he afterwards appears to have been; but whatever was his rigidity, and however severe and scurrilous even (for in his controversial tracts, he made use of such terms as to procure for him "the reputation of having the best knack of any man in Europe, at calling bad names in good Latin")—however severe or scurrilous might have been some of his theological treatises, I cannot believe the idle stories which are told of him, when Lord Chancellor, of *whipping* and *putting to death* certain of the Reformers. The only authorities are Burnet and Fox; the former of whom relies upon the latter. Fox, though an honest and excellent character, was a warm zealot; and the inference to be drawn is, not that

his coming thither, at continual dissension and strife among themselves for their reli-

More was right in being a Catholic, and Fox wrong in being a Protestant, but that the evidence of *warm and zealous partisans* should, in all cases, be received with caution. The general tenor of narrative and argument adopted by all More's *professed biographers*, and the solemn testimony of Erasmus, discountenance even a supposition of the above cruelties. The complete refutation which our author gave to the ridiculous accusations brought against him concerning the Nun of Canterbury, and the receiving of a gold cup, by way of bribe, are at once instances of the blind malevolence of party, and the triumph of innocence.

More's conduct towards his son-in-law ROPER, who differed from him in religious principles, and was probably a *Lutheran*, (what Stapleton calls a *heretic)*, redounds highly to the former's credit. "More frequently and seriously conversed with him on the subject of his religion; but finding his arguments ineffectual, said to him, "I will no longer *dispute* with you—I will *pray to God* for you!" The consequence was, that, within a few days afterwards, Roper voluntarily confessed to his wife that he was become a convert to the catholic religion."—Stapleton, *Vit. Mori*, p. 89. When therefore Mr. Burnett, in his "Specimens of English Prose Writers," vol. i. 391, says that More's "aversion to heterodoxy [by which he means Protestantism] was so implacable, that few inquisitors have surpassed him in their persecutions of heresy"—it must be

gions—perceiving also that this common dissension (whilst every several sect took several parts in fighting for their country) was the only occasion of his conquest over them all

confessed that he appears to have delivered his sentiments rather from the warmth of feeling, than from the authority of historical evidence. Who would not suppose, from such an observation, that More had been a BONNER?

It cannot be dissembled that the warmth of More's piety [" veræ pietatis non indiligens cultor, etiamsi ab omni superstitione alienissimus," says Erasmus, Ep. 437.] received an unfortunate bias as he grew older; and that his early freedom of religious sentiment was, probably, a source of uneasiness to him when he became more closely allied to the church of Rome. The earnestness with which, in his letters, he exhorts Erasmus to retract his former opinions, and in future to be more circumspect in propagating them, shews strongly that he was at last most zealously devoted to the interests of Catholicism. But the sincerity and warmth of a men's *private opinion* in religious matters, and the *enforcing* of that opinion upon others, are quite different things. That More's religious creed was such as every enlightened Protestant must condemn, cannot be doubted—and that his writings in support of the same are at once dull and acrimonious, must also be admitted: my object is not to defend the religious principles of More, but to shew that he was far from being inquisitorial in causing others to embrace them.

—as soon as he had gotten the victory—first of all, he made a decree, that it should be lawful for every man to favour and follow what religion he would; and that he might do the best he could to bring other to his opinion, so that he did it peaceably, gently, quietly, and soberly; without hasty and contentious rebuking and inveighing against other. If he could not by fair and gentle speech induce them unto his opinion, yet he should use no kind of violence, and refrain from displeasant and seditious words. To him that would vehemently and fervently in this cause strive and contend, was decreed banishment or bondage.

This law did king UTOPUS make, not only for the maintenance of peace, which he saw through continual contentation and mortal hatred, utterly extinguished; but also because he thought this decree should make for the furtherance of religion. Whereof he durst define and determine nothing unadvisedly, as doubting whether God, desiring manifold and divers sorts of honour, would inspire sundry men with sundry kinds of

religion. And this surely he thought a very unmeet and foolish thing, and a point of arrogant presumption, to compel all other by violence and threatenings to agree to the same that thou believest to be true. Furthermore, though there be one religion, which alone is true, and all other vain and superstitious, yet did he well foresee (so that the matter were handled with reason and sober modesty), that the truth of the one power would at the last issue out and come to light. But if contention and debate in that behalf should continually be used—as the worst men be most obstinate and stubborn, and in their evil opinion most constant—he perceived that then the best and holiest religion would be trodden under foot, and destroyed by most vain superstitions; even as corn is by thorns and weeds overgrown and choaked. Therefore all this matter he left undiscussed, and gave to every man free liberty and choice to believe what he would. Saving that he earnestly and straightly charged them, that no man should conceive so vile and base an opinion of the dignity of

man's nature, as to think that the souls do die and perish with the body: or that the world runneth at all adventures governed by no divine providence. And therefore they believe that after this life, vices be extremely punished, and virtues bountifully rewarded. Him that is of a contrary opinion, they count not in the number of men—as one that hath availed the high nature of his soul to the vileness of brute beasts bodies *: much less in

* More has well described *dissipated and immoral characters* in his "Thyrde Booke of Comforte agaynst Tribulacion." "Howbeit" (says he) "some things are there in scripture expressed in the manner of the pleasures and joys that we shall have in heaven; as where "righteous men shall shine as the sun, and shall run about like sparkles of fire among reeds." Now, tell some carnal-minded man of this manner of pleasure, and he shall take little pleasure therein; and say, he careth not to have his flesh shine, he!—nor like a spark of fire, to skip about in the sky. Tell him that his body shall be impassible, and never feel harm—yet, if he thinks then therewith that he shall never be an hungred nor a thirst, and shall thereby forbear all his pleasure of eating and drinking, and that he shall never have list to sleep, and thereby lose the pleasure that he was wont to take in slugging—and that men and women shall there live together as angels, without

the number of the citizens—whose laws and ordinances, if it were not for fear, he would nothing at all esteem. For you may be sure *he* will study either with craft privily to mock, or else violently to break the common laws of his country, in whom remaineth no further fear than of the laws, nor no further hope than of the body. Wherefore he that is thus minded is deprived of all honours, excluded from all offices, and rejected from all common administrations in the weal-public.

And thus he is of all sorts despised, as of an unprofitable and of a base and vile nature. Howbeit, they put him to no punishment, because they be persuaded that it is in no man's power to believe what he list. No, nor they constrain him not with threatenings to dissemble his mind, and shew countenance contrary to his thought. For

any manner, mind, or motion unto the carnal act of generation, and that he shall thereby not use there his old filthy voluptuous fashion—he will say, he is better at ease already! and would not give this world for that!" More's Works, edit. 1557, p. 1258. E. F.

deceit and falsehood, and all manner of lies, as next unto fraud, they do marvellously reject and abhor. But they suffer him not to dispute in his opinion, and that only among the common people. For else apart, among the priests and men of gravity, they do not only suffer but also exhort him to dispute and argue; hoping that at the last, madness will give place to reason. There be also other, and of them no small number, which be not bidden to speak their minds, as grounding their opinion upon some reason, being in their living neither evil nor vicious. Their heresy is much contrary to the other: for they believe that the souls of the brute beasts be immortal and everlasting. But nothing to be compared with others in dignity, neither ordained and predestinate to like felicity. For all they believe certainly and surely that man's bliss shall be so great, that they do mourn and lament every man's sickness, but no man's death; unless it be one whom they see depart from his life carefully and against his will. For this they take for a very evil token, as though

the soul being in despair, and vexed in conscience, through some privy and secret forefeeling of the punishment now at hand, were afraid to depart. And they think *he* shall not be welcome to GOD, which, when he is called, runneth not to him gladly, but is drawn by force, and sore against his will. They therefore that see this kind of death, do abhor it; and them that so die, they bury with sorrow and silence.* And when

* In More's "Treatise upon the Passion," are the following strong and serious observations upon a *fit preparation for death*. "When death cometh, the dreadful mighty messenger of God, there can no king command him; there can none authority strain him; there can no riches hire him to tarry past his appointed time, one moment of an hour? Therefore, let us consider well in time, what words we be bounden to speak, and what deeds we be bounden to do; and say them, and do them apace: and leave unsaid, and undone, all superfluous things, and much more, all damnable things—witting well, that we have no void time allowed us thereunto. For the day of our Lord shall steal on us like a thief, and we wot not when he will come, whether in the morning, or in the midday, or in the evening, or at the mid night."

"And God give us all the grace so to do all our business in time; that we spend not our time in vanities, or worse

they have prayed to GOD to be merciful to pardon the infirmities thereof, they cover the dead corpse with earth.*

than vanities, while we be in health; and drive off the things of substance, that we should do, till we lie in our death-bed—where we shall have so many things to do at once, and every thing so unready, that every finger shall be a thumb, and we shall fumble it up in haste so unhandsomely, that we may hap, but if God help the better, to leave more than half undone." Ibid. fol. 1298. H. fol. 1299. C.

* The reader will probably forgive me for introducing to his notice the following beautiful and original passage, from BULLEIN on the subject of life and death: (of which, as in the preceding extracts from More, the orthography is modernised:) "After the day, followeth the night; and after life, approacheth most fearful death, the end of all things: and these have their tokens and signs before them. As when the day passeth away, it is manifest to every creature the sun withdraweth his excellent light, drawing home his beams from us, hiding himself; or, through his swift course in his circle, the dark unmovable earth doth take from our eyes the benefits of his brightness, and, eftsoones, it is called no more day, but night, and the time of silence and darkness! Even so, when the spirits of life have worn their vessels or instruments, or, when the gross humour of melancholy, or earthly complexion, with extreme cold, hath convinced [conquered], quenched, and with force overcome the warm moistness, and vital-living well-spring

Contrarywise, all that depart merrily and full of good hope: for then no man mourneth, but followeth the hearse with joyful singing, commending the souls to God with great affection. And at the last, not with mourning sorrow, but with a great reverence, they *burn the bodies.* And in the same place they set up a pillar of stone, with the dead men's titles therein graved. When they be come home, they rehearse his virtuous manners and his good deeds. But no part of his life is so oft or gladly talked of, as his merry death.* They think that this remembrance

of the blood, the fountain of life—then, the body and soul wax weary of each other: or, when they fall to division, or begin to be at debate within themselves, then they never cease until they do come to utter dissolution—for things, with themselves being at debate, shall quickly be dissolved, whether it be a public-wealth, or a private body."—Bulwarke of Defence, &c. pt. iv. fol. 30.

In Strutt's amusing "Manners and Customs of the English," vol. iii. p. 161, may be seen "The maner of orderinge of every man, at the setting forthe of a corps, and how they shall goe, after their estate and degree." From a Cotton MS. Tiberius, E. viii. in which, of course, no mention is made of the Utopian custom of burning the body.

* More evinced, in his own conduct, a perfect illustration

of the virtue and goodness of the dead, doth vehemently provoke and enforce the living to virtue; and that nothing can be more pleasant and acceptable to the dead; whom

of the doctrine which he here lays down: and his departure from this world was, in every respect, consistent with his uniform declarations upon the subject, and worthy of his high character. No man, in ancient or modern times, was ever less appalled at the prospect of death, and that, too, a premature and cruel one!

When the unjust sentence of execution was passed, and the eyes of all the spectators, suffused with tears, were fixed upon him, he thus addressed his judges with the utmost composure—"I have nothing," says he, "to say, my Lords, but that, like as the blessed Apostle ST. PAUL was present and consented to the death of STEPHEN, and kept their clothes who stoned him to death, and yet be they now both twain holy saints in heaven, and shall continue there friends for ever—so I verily trust and shall heartily pray, that though your Lordships have now been judges upon earth to my condemnation, we may yet hereafter ALL meet together in heaven to our everlasting salvation. And so I pray God preserve you all, and especially my Sovereign Lord the King, and send him faithful counsellors."

The remainder of his conduct, till the moment of his dissolution, displayed equal calmness and fortitude.—"On the 5th of July, 1535, Sir Thomas Pope, his intimate friend, came to him from the king very early in the morn-

they suppose to be present among them, when they talk of them, though to the dull

ing, to acquaint him that he should be executed that day at nine o'clock, and therefore that he must immediately prepare himself for death."

"As soon as Sir Thomas left him, he drest himself in the best clothes he had; that his appearance might express the ease and complacency which he felt within. The Lieutenant of the Tower objecting to this generosity to his executioner, who was to have his clothes, Sir Thomas assured him, "if it was cloth of gold, he should think it well bestowed on him who was to do him so singular a benefit." But the Lieutenant, who was his friend, pressing him very much to change his dress, and Sir Thomas being very unwilling to deny him so small a gratification, put on a gown of freeze; and of the little money that he had left, sent an angel in gold to the executioner, as a token of his good will. About nine o'clock, he was brought out of the Tower, and led to the place of execution: but observing when he came to the scaffold, that it was so weakly built it was ready to fall down, he turned about and said with his usual gaiety, 'I pray you Mr. Lieutenant see me safe up, and for my *coming down* let me shift for myself!' As soon as he had ascended it, he desired all the people to pray for him, and to bear witness with him, 'that he should then suffer death, in and for the faith of the holy catholic church, a faithful servant both of GOD and the king.' Having said this, he kneeled down to his prayers; and when he had made an end, he addressed himself to the

and feeble eye sight of mortal men they be invisible. For it were an inconvenient

executioner, with as much vivacity and chearfulness in his countenance as he had ever shewn in his happiest hours; saying, 'pluck up thy spirits man, and be not afraid to do thine office: my neck is very short; take heed therefore thou strike not awry for saving thine honesty.' When the executioner would have covered his eyes, he told him he would do that himself; which he did immediately with a cloth he had brought with him for that purpose. Then kneeling down, and laying his head upon the block, to receive the stroke, he bade the executioner stay till he had removed his beard—for *that*, said he, 'has never committed any treason.' At one blow of the axe his head was severed from his body." Warner's Life, p. 145,6,7.

"That innocent mirth," says Addison, "which had been so conspicuous in his life, did not forsake him to the last. He maintained the same cheerfulness of heart upon the scaffold, which he used to shew at his table; and, upon laying his head upon the block, gave instances of that good humour with which he had always entertained his friends, in the most ordinary occurrences. His death was of a piece with his life. There was nothing in it new, forced, or affected. He did not look upon the severing of his head from his body as a circumstance that ought to produce any change in the disposition of his mind: and as he died under a fixed and settled hope of immortality, he thought any unusual degree of sorrow or concern improper on such an occasion, as had nothing in it which could deject or

thing that the blessed should not be at liberty to go whither they would. And it were a point of great unkindness in them, to have utterly cast away the desire of visiting and seeing their friends, to whom they were in their life time joined by mutual love and amity. Which, in good men after their death, they count to be rather increased than diminished. They believe therefore that the dead be presently conversant among the quick, as beholders and witnesses of all their words and deeds. Therefore they go more courageously to their business, as having a trust and affiance in such overseers. And this belief of the present conversation of

terrify him." "What," continues Addison, "was philosophy in this extraordinary man, would be frenzy in one who does not resemble him, as well in the cheerfulness of his temper, as in the sanctity of his life and manners."—Spectator. No. 349.

"More is dead!" says Erasmus, in the accents of despondency—"More, whose breast was purer than snow, whose genius was excellent above all his nation!"—Pref. to Ecclesiastes, quoted in Macdiarmid's Lives of British Statesmen, p. 117.

More's great-grandson has devoted the 12th chapter of

their forefathers and ancestors among them, feareth them from all secret dishonesty.

They utterly despise and mock sooth-sayings, and divinations of things to come, by the flight and voices of birds, and all other divination of vain superstition, which in other countries be in great observation. But they highly esteem and worship miracles that come by no help of nature, as works and witnesses of the present power of GOD. And such they say do chance there very often. And sometimes in great and doubtful matters, by common intercession and prayers, they procure and obtain them with a sure hope and confidence, and a steadfast belief.

They think that the contemplation of nature, and the praise thereof coming, is to GOD a very acceptable honour; yet there be many so earnestly bent and affected to religion, that they pass nothing for learning, nor give their minds to any knowledge of things.

his Life of Sir Thomas, to an account of the effect produced on the minds of the most eminent men of the times, by the execution of his great-grandfather. The catastrophe of More seems, indeed, to have electrified Europe!

But idleness they utterly forsake and eschew; thinking felicity after this life to be gotten and obtained by busy labour and good exercises. Some therefore of them attend upon the sick, some amend highways, cleanse ditches, repair bridges, dig turfs, gravel, and stone; fell and cleave wood, bring wood, corn, and other things, into the cities in carts, and serve not only in common works, but also in private labours, as servants: yea, more than bondmen. For whatsoever unpleasant, hard, and vile work is any where, from the which, labour, loathsomeness, and desperation doth fray * other, all *that* they take upon them willingly and gladly: procuring rest and quiet to other, remaining in continual work and labour themselves, not imbraiding † others therewith. They neither reprove other men's lives, nor glory in their own. These men, the more serviceable they behave themselves, the more they be honoured of all men; yet they be divided into two sects: the one of them that live single and chaste, abstaining not only from

* *Frighten*, deter. † *Upbraiding.*

the company of women, but also from eating of flesh, and some of them from all manner of beasts: which, utterly rejecting the pleasures of this present life as hurtful, be all wholly set upon the desire of this life to come, by watching, waiting, and sweating ;* hoping shortly to obtain it, being in the mean season merry and lusty. The *other* sect is no less desirous of labour, but they embrace matrimony, not despising the solace thereof: thinking that they cannot be discharged of their bounden duties toward nature without labour and toil; nor towards their native country, without procreation of children. They abstain from no pleasure that doth nothing himself hinder them from labour. They love the flesh of four-footed beasts, because they believe that by the meat they be made hardy and stronger to work. The UTOPIANS count this sect the *wiser*, but the other the *holier:* which, in that they prefer single life before matrimony, and that sharp life before the easier life—if herein

* *Toiling.* "[Vitæ] futuræ duntaxat per vigilias ac *sudores* inhiant, &c." says More.

they ground it upon reason, they would mock them; but now forasmuch as they say they be lead to it by religion, they honour and worship them. And these be they whom, in their language, by a peculiar name, they call *Buthrescas;* the which word by interpretation, signifieth to us, *men of religion*, or *religious men.*

They have PRIESTS of exceeding holiness, and therefore very few. For there be but thirteen in every city, according to the number of their churches; saving when they go forth to battle—for then seven of them go forth with the army: in whose steads so many now be made at home. But the other, at their return home again, re-enter every one in his own place: they that be above the number, until such time as they succeed into the places of the other at their dying, be in the mean season continually in company with the Bishop; for he is the chief head of them all. They be chosen of the people, as the other magistrates be, by secret voices, for the avoiding of strife.

After their election, they be consecrate of

their own company. They be overseers of all divine matters, orderers of religions, and as it were judges and masters of manners. And it is a great dishonesty and shame to be rebuked or spoken to, by any of them, for dissolute and incontinent living. But as it is their office to give good exhortations and counsel, so it is the duty of the prince and the other magistrates, to correct and punish offenders (saving the priests): whom they find exceeding vicious livers, them they excommunicate from having any interest in divine matters. And there is almost no punishment among them more feared; for they run in very great infamy, and be inwardly tormented with a secret fear of religion, and shall not long escape free with their bodies. For unless they, by quick repentance, approve the amendment of their lives to the priests, they be taken and punished of the council, as wicked and irreligious. Both childhood and youth is instructed and taught of them. Nor be they more diligent to instruct them in learning, than in virtue and good manners; for they

use with very great endeavour and diligence to put into the heads of their children, whilst they be yet tender and pliant, good opinions and profitable for the conservation of the weal-public.* Which, when they be once rooted in children, do remain with them all

* "It is a reproach to our country and to the present times, that in our great schools in England, the boys are never instructed in the truth or doctrines of religion, nor any attempt made to form their minds and manners by the principles which it contains. They are taught to be scholars, without any intention of teaching them to be good men: and they know much more of Cicero or Demosthenes, than they do of Jesus Christ, or of their Maker. To this fundamental error in our education, it is owing, that when these young men come abroad into the world, who are to be our governors, they are as ignorant of the religion of their country as the most illiterate husbandman or mechanic; and either take up with absurd, pernicious notions, or are led away into infidelity and every error of life and conduct." WARNER.

Since this observation was made, very material alterations have taken place in our public schools.—The reader will consult Dr. Vincent's pamphlet upon the subject, published a few years ago, which gives an excellent account of the religious exercises of *Westminster School:* but Westminster is not a *singular* instance of moral and religious instruction in our public seminaries—"Sunt et aliæ et excellentissimæ!"

their life after, and be wondrous profitable for their defence, and maintenance of the state of the common-wealth: which never decayeth but through vices rising of evil opinions.

The priests, unless they be women (for that kind is not excluded from priesthood; howbeit few be chosen, and none but widows and old women) the men priests, I say, take to their wives * the chiefest women in all

* More's sentiments upon the *marriage of priests*, were very different when he wrote his "Supplicacion of Soules." I extract the following, among many other instances, as an illustration—"How can there, by the marriage of priestes, monkes, and freres, be fewer hores and bawdes, when, by the very marriage itself, beying as it were incestuous and abhominable, all were starke harlottes that maried them, and all starke bawdes that should help to bring them together?" See More's Works, printed by Tottel, fol. 1557. p. 308. D.

In another part of his works, against Tindal, he makes this more liberal confession: "But the church both knoweth and confesseth that *wedlocke and priesthoode be not repugnant*, but compatible of their nature, and that wedded men have been made priestes and kept styll their wyves. But since perpetuall chastitie, and the forbearinge of the worke of wedlocke, is more acceptable to God than the worke of

their country: for to no office among the *Utopians* is there more honour and pre-eminence given. Insomuch that if they commit any offence, they be under no common judgment, but be left only to GOD and themselves. For they think it not lawful to touch him with man's hand, be he never so vicious, which after so singular a sort was dedicate and consecrate to GOD, as a holy offering.

This manner may they easily observe, because they have so few priests, and do choose them with such circumspection. For it scarcely ever chanceth, that the most virtuous among virtuous, which in respect only of his virtue is advanced to so high a dignity, can fall to vice and wickedness. And if it should chance indeed, (as man's nature is mutable and frail) yet by reason they be so few, and promoted to no might nor power, but only to honour, it were not to be feared

wedlocke in matrimony; therefore the churche taketh none to be priestes, but suche as promise and profess never to be married, but kepe perpetual chastitie." Ibid. p. 485. D.

that any great damage by them should happen and ensue to the common-wealth. They have so rare and few priests, lest if the honour were communicated to many, the dignity of the order, which among them now is so highly esteemed, should run in contempt. Specially, because they think it hard to find many so good as to be meet for that dignity, to the execution and discharge whereof it is not sufficient to be endued with mean virtues.

Furthermore, these priests be not more esteemed of their own countrymen, than they be of foreign and strange countries. Which thing may hereby plainly appear. And I think also that this is the cause of it. For whilst the armies be fighting together in open field, they a little beside, not far off, kneel upon their knees, in their hallowed vestments, holding up their hands to heaven: praying first of all for peace, next for victory of their own part, but to neither part a bloody victory. If their host get the upper hand, they run into the main battle, and restrain their own men from slaying and cruelly pursuing their vanquished enemies.

Which enemies, if they do but see them and speak to them, it is enough for the safeguard of their lives; and the touching of their clothes defendeth and saveth all their goods from ravine and spoil. This thing hath advanced them to so great worship and true majesty among all nations, that many times they have as well preserved their own citizens from the cruel force of their enemies, as they have their enemies from the furious rage of their own men. For it is well known, that when their own army hath recoiled, and in despair turned back and run away, their enemies fiercely pursuing with slaughter and spoil—then the priests, coming between, have stayed the murder, and parted both the hosts. So that peace hath been made and concluded between both parts upon equal and indifferent conditions. For there never was any nation so fierce, so cruel, and rude, but they had them in such reverence, that they counted their bodies hallowed and sanctified, and therefore not to be violently and unreverently touched.

They keep holy the first and last day of every month and year, dividing the year

into months, which they measure by the course of the moon, as they do the year by the course of the sun. The first days they call in their language *Cinimernes*, and the last *Tapermernes;* the which words may be interpreted, *Primifest* and *Finifest*, or else in our speech, first feast and last feast.

Their churches be very gorgeous, not only of fine and curious workmanship, but also (which in the fewness of them was necessary) very wide and large, and able to receive a great company of people: but they be all somewhat dark. Howbeit, that was not done through ignorance in building, but as they say by the counsel of the priests. Because they thought that overmuch light doth disperse men's cogitations; whereas in dim and doubtful light they be gathered together, and more earnestly fixed upon religion and devotion:*

* More would intimate that a certain air of solemnity is given to religious places of worship by a due mixture of light and shade. One of the greatest beauties of *Gothic architecture* is, that it produces this solemn gloom: the reader may see the subject ably handled by T. Warton, in his Essay on Gothic architecture, published with three

which because it is not there of one sort among all men, and yet all the kinds and fashions of it, though they be sundry and manifold, agree together in the honour of divine nature, as going divers ways to one end: therefore nothing is seen or heard in the churches, but that seemeth to agree indifferently with them all. If there be a distinct kind of sacrifice peculiar to any several sect, *that* they execute at home in their own houses. The common sacrifices be so ordered, that they be no derogation nor prejudice to any of the private sacrifices and religions. Therefore no image of any God is seen in the church, to the intent it may be free for every man to conceive God by their religion, after what likeness and similitude they will. They call upon no peculiar name of God, but only *Mythra*;* in the which word they all agree together in one nature

others, in an elegant 8vo. volume, published by Mr. Taylor of Holborn. Milton thus alludes to this solemnity of effect in Gothic buildings—

" And storied windows richly dight,
Casting *a dim religious light*." Il Penseroso.

† See page 194, note.

of the divine Majesty whatsoever it be. No prayers be used but such as every man may boldly pronounce without the offending of any sect. They come therefore to the church the last day of every month and year, in the evening, yet fasting; there to give thanks to GOD for that they have prosperously passed over the year or month, whereof that holiday is the last day.

The next day they come to the church early in the morning to pray to God that they may have good fortune and success all the new year or month, which they do use to begin of that same holy day.

But in the holy days that be in the last days of the months and years, before they come to the church, the wives fall down prostrate before their husbands feet at home, and the children before the feet of their parents, confessing and acknowledging themselves offenders either by some actual deed, or by omission of their duty, and desire pardon for their offence. Thus, if any cloud of privy displeasure was risen at home, by this satisfaction it is over-blown, that they

may be present at the sacrifices with pure and charitable minds. For they be afraid to come there with troubled consciences; therefore if they know themselves to bear any hatred or grudge towards any man, they presume not to come to the sacrifices before they have reconciled themselves, and purged their consciences for fear of great vengeance and punishment for their offence.

When they be come thither, the men go into the right side of the church, and the women into the left side.* There they place themselves in such order, that all they which be of the male kind in every household, sit before the good man of the house; and they of the female kind, before the good wife. Thus it is foreseen that all their gestures and behaviours be marked and observed abroad of them, by whose authority and discipline they be governed at home. This also they diligently see unto, that the younger evermore be coupled with his elder, least children being joined together, they should pass over the time in childish wantonness, wherein

* A custom yet observed in some of our churches.

they ought principally to conceive a religious and devout fear towards God, which is the chief and almost the only incitation to virtue. They kill no living beast in sacrifice, nor they think not that the merciful clemency of GOD doth dwell in blood and slaughter, which hath given life to beasts to the intent they should live. They burn frankincense, and other sweet savours, and light also a great number of wax * candles and tapers, not supposing this geer † to be any thing available to the divine nature as neither the prayers of men. But this unhurtful and harmless kind of worship pleaseth them. And by these sweet savours and lights, and other such ceremonies, men feel themselves secretly lifted up, and encouraged to devotion with more willing and fervent hearts. The people weareth in the church white apparel; the priest is clothed in changeable colours, which in workmanship

* More here introduces the forms and ceremonies of the *Roman Catholic* church—which Pope has so beautifully interwoven in the poetry of his "Eloisa."

† *Stuff.*

be excellent, but in stuff not very precious: for their vestments be neither embroidered with gold, nor set with precious stones. But they be wrought so finely and cunningly with divers feathers of fowls, that the estimation of no earthly stuff is able to countervail the price of the work. Furthermore, in these birds' feathers, and in the due order of them, which is observed in their setting, they say, is contained *certain divine mysteries*. The interpretation whereof known, which is diligently taught by the priests, they be put in remembrance of the bountiful benefits of God toward them, and of the love and honour which of their behalf is due to God: and also of their duties one toward another.

When the priest first cometh out of the vestry thus apparelled, they fall down incontinent every one reverently to the ground, with so still silence, that the very fashion of the thing striketh into them a certain fear of God, as though he were there personally present. When they have lain a little space on the ground, the priest giveth them a sign to rise; then they sing praises unto God, which

they intermix with instruments* of music, for the most part, of other fashions than these

* We may form some opinion of the high estimation in which *Church Music* was held in these times, from a "Book of Ceremonies published in the year 1539. "The sober, discrete, and devout singing, music, and playing with organs, used in the church, in the service of God, are ordained to *move and stir* the people to the sweetnes of Godes word, the which is there sung: and by that sweet harmony, both to excite them to prayer and devotion, and also to put them in remembrance of the heavenly triumphant church, where is everlasting joy, continual laud, and praise to God." Sect. "*Service of the Church.*"

All this seems to have been violently scouted by the zeal of the first reformers, in the "*Protestation of the Clargie of the Lower House,*" they declared that "synging, and saying of mass, matins, or even-song, is but roryng, howling, whistelyng, mummying, conjuring, and jogelyng, and the *playing of the organys* * *a foolish vanitie!*"

On the interment of Henry VIII. "when the mold was brought and cast into the grave by the Prelate executing, at the words *pulverem pulveri*, and *cinerem cineri*, (a proof by the bye, of the Service being still in Latin), first the Lord Great Chamberlain, and al others aforesaid in order, with heavy and dolorous lamentations brake their staves, &c. with exceeding sorrow and heaviness, not without

* In Sir John Hawkins's Hist. of Music, vol. iv. p. 151, there is a curious cut of an organ made in the time of King Stephen.

that we use in this part of the world. And like as some of ours be much sweeter than theirs, so some of theirs do far pass ours. But in one thing doubtless they go exceeding far beyond us; for all their music, both that they play upon instruments, and that they sing with man's voice, doth so resemble

grievous sighs and tears very piteous and sorrowful to behold. Then the trumpets sounded with great melody and courage to the comfort of al them that were there present."

See Dr. Burney's Hist. of Music, vol. iii. p. 2, 3; and the authorities there cited. Some curious intelligence on this subject is collected by Strutt, Man. and Cust. vol. iii. p. 116. 117.

Among the contributors to church music, Henry VIII. [whose fame as a musician is frequently mentioned by our early writers] appears to have been not the least scanty: having, acccording to Hall, [Union Vit. H. 8.] "set 2 *goodly masses*, every of them 5 partes, whyche were songe oftentymes in his chapel, and afterwardes in divers other places." Ritson possessed a MS. of Henry the Eight's time, "somewhat resembling the Fairfax collection, but more abounding in church service, hymns, carols, and other religious pieces." He tells us too, "there is likewise a species of poetical harmony in old books, called K. H. [King Henry's] mirth, or Freemen's Songs." See his "Historical Essay on National Song," p. lv. in his Select Coll. of English Songs. 1783.

and express natural affections—the sound and tune is so applied and made agreeable to the thing—that whether it be a prayer, or else a duty of gladness, of patience, of trouble, of mourning, or of anger, the fashion of the melody doth so represent the meaning of the thing, that it doth wonderfully move, stir, pierce, and enflame * the hearers' minds. At the last, the people and the priest together rehearse solemn prayers in words, expressly pronounced, so made that every man may

* "In a word, *music* is so powerful a thing that it ravisheth the souls; "regina sensuum"—the queen of the senses—by sweet pleasure, [which is an happy cure] and corporal tunes, *it pacifies our incorporeal soul*,—"sine ore loquens, dominatum in animam exercet"—and carries it beyond itself—helps, elevates, extends it."—Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy, part 2. sect. 2. subject 3.

"He [that is happily qualified to appreciate the *better parts* of music] will enjoy this heavenly gift, this exquisite and soul-delighting sensation, in *the temples of his God*, or in the peaceful circles of domestic happiness"—says Mr. Douce, in a fine burst of eloquence upon the charms and efficacy of music. See his "Illustrations of Shakspeare and of Ancient Manners," 8vo. 1808: vol. i. 270. a work replete with tasteful illustration and curious research.

privately apply to himself that which is commonly spoken of all.

In these prayers, every man recogniseth and knowledgeth God to be his maker, his governor, and the principal cause of all other goodness; thanking him for so many benefits received at his hand: particularly that, through the favour of God, he hath chanced into that public weal, which is most happy and wealthy, and hath chosen that religion which he hopeth to be most true. In the which thing, if he do any thing err, or if there be any other better than either of them is, being more acceptable to God, he desireth him that he will of his goodness let him have knowledge thereof, as one that is ready to follow what way soever he will lead him. But if this form and fashion of a commonwealth be best, and his own religion most true and perfect, then he desireth God to give him a constant stedfastness in the same, and to bring all other people to the same order of living, and to the same opinion of God, unless there be any thing that in this diversity of religions doth delight his

unsearchable pleasure. To be short, he prayeth him that after his death he may come to him: but how soon or late, *that* he dare not assign or determine. Howbeit, if it might stand with his Majesty's pleasure, he would be much gladder to die a painful death, and so to go to GOD, than by long living in worldly prosperity to be away from him. When this prayer is said, they fall down to the ground again, and a little after they rise up and go to dinner; and the residue of the day they pass over in plays, and exercise of chivalry.*

* It must be confessed that, with some trifling exceptions, there is much candour, benevolence, and a genuine spirit of piety displayed in the religion, creeds, and modes of worship of the UTOPIANS. There are passages in the preceding pages, not less affecting for the true spirit of devotion which they breathe, than beautiful for the language in which they are composed. The original Latin of More is, throughout the whole of the chapter upon religion, in a more elevated and energetic strain; and the translation of Robinson improves also in proportion. The French translation is decorated with so many flourishes that it can hardly be read with seriousness.

CHAPTER XII.

Hythloday's Reflections on the Commonwealth of Utopia.

Now I have declared and prescribed unto you, as truly as I could, the form and order of that common-wealth, which verily in my judgment is not only the best, but also that which alone of good right may claim and take upon it the name of a COMMON-WEALTH or PUBLIC WEAL. For in *other* places they speak still of the common-wealth; but every man procureth his own private gain. *Here*, where nothing is private, the common affairs be earnestly looked upon. And truly on both parts they have good cause so to do as they do. For in other countries who knoweth not that he shall starve for hunger, unless he make some several provision for himself, though the common-wealth flourish never so much in riches! And therefore he is compelled even of very necessity to have regard

to himself rather than to the people, that is to say, to others.

Contrarywise, there where all things be common to every man, it is not to be doubted that any man shall lack any thing necessary for his private uses, so that the common storehouses and barns be sufficiently stored. For there nothing is distributed after a niggish sort, neither is there any poor man or beggar. And though no man have any thing,* yet every man is rich; for what can be more rich than to live joyful and merrily, without all grief and pensiveness? not caring for his own living, not vexed or troubled with his wife's importunate complaints, nor dreading poverty to his son, nor sorrowful for his daughters dowry! Yea they take no care at all for the living and wealth of themselves and all theirs; and their wives, their children, their nephews, their children's children, and all the succession that ever shall follow in their posterity. And yet, besides this, there is no less provision for them that were once labourers, and be now

* That is, as his own exclusive property.

weak and impotent, than for them that do now labour and take pain. Here now would I see if any man dare be so bold as to compare with it the equity, the justice, of other nations—among whom, I forsake* God, if I can find any sign or token of equity and justice! For what justice is this, that a rich goldsmith or an usurer, or to be short, any of them which either do nothing at all—or else that which they do, is such, that it is not very necessary to the common-wealth—should have a pleasant and a wealthy living, either by idleness, or by unnecessary business? when in the meantime, poor labourers, carters, iron-smiths, carpenters and ploughmen, by so great and continual toil, as drawing and bearing beasts, be scant† able to sustain—and again so necessary toil, that without it no common-wealth were able to continue and endure one year—should yet

* In the original Latin it is "dispeream."

† For "scarce able"—the expression is in the translation of 1551, and is yet sometimes to be heard in the remoter parts of England.

get so hard and poor a living, and live so wretched and miserable a life, that the state and condition of the labouring beast may seem much better and wealthier? For they be not put to so continual labour, nor their living is not much worse: yea, to them much pleasanter, taking no thought in the mean season for the time to come. But these silly poor wretches, be presently tormented with barren and unfruitful labour. And the remembrance of their poor indigent and beggarly old age killeth them up. For their daily wages is so little, that it will not suffice for the same day; much less, it yieldeth any overplus that may daily be laid up for the relief of old age.

Is not this an unjust and an unkind public weal, which giveth great fees and rewards to gentlemen, as they call them, and to goldsmiths, and to such other, which be either idle persons, or else only flatterers, and devisers of vain pleasures: and of the contrary part, maketh no gentle provision for poor ploughmen, colliers, labourers, iron-smiths, and carpenters, without whom no common-

wealth can continue? But after it hath abused the labourers of their lusty and flowering age, at the last, when they be oppressed with old age and sickness, being needy, poor, and indigent of all things, then, forgetting their so many painful watchings, not remembering their so many and so great benefits — recompenseth and acquainteth them most unkindly with miserable death! And yet besides this, the rich men not only by private fraud, but also by common laws, do every day pluck and snatch away from the poor, some part of their daily living.

So whereas it seemed *before* unjust to repay with unkindness their pains, that they have been beneficial to the common-weal, *now* they have to their wrong and unjust dealing (which is yet a much worse point) given the name of justice, yea, and that by force of a law! Therefore, when I consider and weigh in my mind all these common-wealths which now a-days any where do flourish, so God help me, I can perceive nothing but a certain conspiracy of rich men procuring their own commodities, under the name and title

of the common-wealth! They invent and devise all means and crafts; first, how to keep safely without fear of loosing, what they have unjustly gathered together: and next, how to hire and abuse the work and labour of the poor for as little money as may be. These devices, when the rich men have decreed to be kept and observed under colour of the commonalty, that is to say, also of the poor people, then they be made laws. But these most vicious and wicked men, when they have by their unsatiable covetousness divided among themselves all those things which would have sufficed all men, yet how far be they from the wealth and felicity of the UTOPIAN common-wealth? Out of the which, in that all the desire of money with the use thereof is utterly secluded and banished, how great a heap of cares is cut away? How great an occasion of wickedness and mischief is pulled up by the root? For who knoweth not that fraud, theft, ravine, brawling, quarrelling, brabbling, strife, chiding, contention, murder, treason, poisoning, which by daily punishments are

rather revenged than refrained, do die when money dieth?* And also that fear, grief, care, labours, and watching, do perish even the very same moment that money perisheth? Yet poverty itself, which only seemed to lack money, if money were gone, it also would decrease and vanish away. And that you may perceive this more plainly, consider with yourselves some barren and unfruitful year, wherein many thousands of people have

* Numerous are the anecdotes told of More's indifference to wealth: some of them have been already before the reader. "Tindall and divers others affirmed, that they wist well that Sir T. More was not less worth in monie, plate, and other moveables, than 20,000 marks—but it was found farre otherwise when his house was searched after he was committed to the Tower, where a while he had some competent libertie: but after, on a suddaine, he was shutt up very close—at whiche time he feared that there would be a new and more narrower search in all his houses; because his mind gave him that folks thought he was not so poore, as it appeared in the search; but he told his daughter, Mrs. Roper, that it would be but *a sporte to them that knew the truth of his povertie!* unlesse they should finde out his *wive's gay girdle*, and her *goolde beades!*"—Great Grandson's Life of Sir T. More, 4to. edit. p. 403.

starved for hunger—I dare be bold to say, that in the end of that penury, so much corn or grain might have been found in rich men's barns, if they had been searched, as, being divided among them whom famine and pestilence then consumed, no man at all should have felt that plague and penury! So easily men might get their living if that same worthy *Princess*, *Lady* MONEY, did not alone stop up the way between us and our living, which a God's name was very excellently devised and invented, that by her the way thereto should be opened! I am sure the rich men perceive this; nor be they ignorant how much better it were to lack no necessary thing, than to abound with overmuch superfluity: to be rid out of innumerable cares and troubles, than to be besieged and encumbered with great riches.

And I doubt not that either the respect of every man's private commodity, or else the authority of our Saviour CHRIST, (which for his great wisdom could not but know what were best, and for his inestimable goodness could not but counsel to that which he knew to

bebest) would have brought all the world long ago into the laws of this weal-public, if it were not, that only one beast, the princess and mother of all mischief, PRIDE,* doth withstand and let it! She measureth not wealth and prosperity by her own commodities, but by the misery and incommodities of other: she would not by her good will be made a goddess, if there were no wretches left, over whom she might, like a scornful lady, rule and triumph; over whose miseries her felicities might shine; whose poverty she might vex, torment, and increase, by rigorously setting forth her riches. This *hell-hound* creepth into men's hearts, and pulleth them back from entering the right path of life,

* Whoever will consult More's Treatise "De quatuor novissimis," in which there is an excellent chapter "*Of Pride*," will see in what detestation this abominable vice was held by our author. In his "Treatise upon the Passion," the subject is again discussed; and at the commencement of it, (which relates to the conduct of Satan towards our first parents,) the curious reader may discover some passages, which, probably, supplied Milton with hints for the conduct of the Devil on his arrival in Paradise. See More's Works, edit. 1557. p. 82. 1270.

and is so deeply rooted in men's breasts that she cannot be pulled out.

This form and fashion of a weal-public, which I would gladly wish unto all nations, I am glad yet that it chanced to the *Utopians;* which have followed those institutions of life, whereby they have laid such foundations of their common-wealth, as shall continue and last not only wealthy, but also, as far as man's wit may judge and conjecture, shall endure for ever. For seeing the chief causes of ambition and sedition, with other vices, be plucked up by the roots and abandoned—at home there can be no jeopardy of domestical dissension, which, alone, hath cast underfoot and brought to nought the well fortified aid, and strongly defenced wealth and riches of many cities. But for as much as perfect concord remaineth, and wholesome laws be executed, at home, the envy of all foreign princes be not able to shake or move the empire, though they have many times long ago gone about to do it, being evermore driven back.

EPILOGUE.

THUS when RAPHAEL had made an end of his tale, though many things came to my mind which, in the manners and laws of that people, seemed to be instituted and founded of no good reason, but only in the fashion of their chivalry, and in their sacrifices, and religions, and in other of their laws ; but also yea and chiefly, in that which is the principal foundation of all their ordinances—that is to say, in the commonalty of their life and living, without any occupying of money—

by the which thing only all nobility, magnificence, worship, honour, and majesty, the true ornaments and honours, as the common opinion is, of a common-wealth, utterly be overthrown and destroyed—yet, because I knew that he was weary of talking, and was not sure whether he could abide that any thing should be said against his mind—specially remembering that he had reprehended this fault in other, which be afraid least they should seem not to be wise enough, unless they could find some fault in other men's inventions—therefore, I, praising both their institutions and his communication, took him by the hand, and led him in to supper; saying that we would choose another time to weigh and examine the same matters, and to talk with him more at large therein: which would God it might once come to pass!

In the mean time, as I cannot agree and consent to all things that he said—being else without doubt a man singularly well learned, and also in all worldly matter exactly and profoundly experienced—so must I needs confess and grant, that many things be in the

UTOPIAN weal-public, which in our cities I may rather wish for, than hope after.

Thus endeth the afternoon's talk of Raphael Hythloday, concerning the laws and institutions of the island of Utopia.*

* "The same praise is due to many passages in the second part (or book), where the country, the manners, and the political institutions of the Utopians are described. Yet while we allow much to the ingenuity, and much to the judgment of the author, it must be acknowledged that many of the laws and practices of this new republic are by no means improvements; that the author has been more successful in exposing defects than in providing remedies; and that his regulations are often fitted rather for the beings of his own fancy, than for those with whom the Creator has peopled this world."

"The sagacity of the Utopians cannot be sufficiently applauded, for connecting together so intimately the ideas of virtue and industry, of idleness and vice. And although the regulations adopted by their legislator to retain all his people in continual activity are often fanciful, and, perhaps impracticable; yet it must be acknowledged, that the object he had in view is essentially connected with the improvement and happiness of mankind."

MACDIARMID, *Lives of British Statesmen*, Appendix.

END OF THE UTOPIA.

To the Right Hon. JEROME BUSLIDE, *Provost of* Arienum, *and Counsellor of the Catholic King Charles*, PETER GILES, *Citizen of* Antwerp, *wisheth health and felicity;*

THOMAS MORE, *the singular ornament of this our age, as you yourself (Right Honourable* Buslide*) can witness, to whom he is perfectly well known—sent unto me, this other day, the island of* Utopia, *to very few as yet known, but most worthy; which, as far excelling Plato's common-wealth, all people should be willing to know: specially of a man most eloquent so finely set forth, so cunningly painted out, and so evidently subject to the eye, that as oft as I read it, me thinketh that I see somewhat more than when I heard* Raphael Hythloday *himself (for I was present at that talk, as well as* Master More,*) uttering and pronouncing his own words: yea, though the same man according to his pure eloquence, did so open and declare the matter, that he might plainly enough appear to report, not*

things which he had learned of others only by hearsay, but which he had with his own eyes presently seen, thoroughly viewed, and wherein he had no small time been conversant and abiding: a man truly, in mine opinion, as touching the knowledge of religions, people, and worldly experience, much passing, yea, even the very famous and renowned traveller Ulysses. *Indeed such a one, as for the space of these DCCC years past, I think nature into the world brought not forth his like: in comparison of who,* Vespuce *may be thought to have seen nothing.*

Moreover, whereas we be wont more effectually and pitifully to declare and express things that we have seen, than which we have but only heard—there was besides that, in this man, a certain peculiar grace, and singular dexterity to describe and set forth a matter withal. Yet the self same things, as oft as I behold and consider them, drawn and painted out with Master More's *pencil, I am therewith so moved, so delighted, so inflamed, and so rapt, that sometime me think I am presently conversant even in the island of* Utopia! *And I promise you, I can scarce believe that* Raphael *himself by all*

that five years space that he was in Utopia *abiding, saw there so much as here in* Master More's *description is to be seen and perceived. Which description, with so many wondrous and miraculous things is replenished, that I stand in great doubt, whereat first and chiefly to muse or marvel: whether at the excellency of his perfect and sure memory, which could well nigh word by word rehearse so many things once only heard: or else at his singular prudence, who so well and wittily marked and bare away all the original causes and fountains (to the vulgar people commonly most unknown) whereof both issueth and springeth the mortal confusion and utter decay of a common-wealth, and also how the advancement and wealthy state of the same may rise and grow: or else at the efficacy of his words, which in so fine a Latin style, with such force of eloquence, hath couched together and comprised so many and divers matters; specially being a man continually incumbered with so many busy and troublesome cares, both public and private, as he is.*

Howbeit, all these things cause you little to marvel (Right Honourable Buslide*), for that you*

are familiarly and thoroughly acquainted with the notable, yea almost divine wit of the man. But now to proceed to other matters: I surely know nothing needful or requisite to be adjoined unto his writings, only a metre of four verses written in the Utopian tongue; *which, after* Master More's *departure,* Hythloday *by chance shewed me: that have I caused to be added thereto, with the Alphabet of the same nation, and have also garnished the margin of the book with notes. For as touching the situation of the island, that is to say, in what part of the world* Utopia *standeth, the ignorance and lack whereof not a little troubleth and grieveth* Master More: *indeed* Raphael *left not that unspoken of.*

Howbeit, with very few words he lightly touched it, accidentally by the way passing it over; as meaning of likelihood to keep and reserve that to any other place. And the same, I know not how, by a certain evil and unlucky chance, escaped us both. For when Raphael *was speaking thereof, one of* Master More's *servants came to him, and whispered in his ear: wherefore I being then of purpose more earnestly addicted to hear—one of the company, by reason of*

cold taken, I think a ship-board, coughed out so loud, that he took from my hearing certain of his words. But I will never stint, nor rest, until I have got the full and exact knowledge hereof: insomuch that I will be able perfectly to instruct you, not only in the longitude or true meridian of the island, but also in the just latitude thereof; that is to say, in the sublevation or height of the pole in that region; if our friend Hythloday *be in safety and alive. For we hear very uncertain news of him. Some report that he died in his journey homeward. Some again affirm that he returned into his country; but partly, for that he could not away with the fashions of his country folks, and partly, for that his mind and affection was altogether set and fixed upon* Utopia, *they say that he hath taken his voyage thither-ward again. Now as touching this, that the name of this island is no where found among the old and ancient cosmographers, this doubt* Hythloday *himself very well dissolved. For why, it is possible enough (quoth he) that the name, which it had in old time, was afterward changed, or else that they never had knowledge of this island; for as much*

as now, in our time, divers lands be found, which to the old geographers were unknown.

Howbeit, what needeth it in this behalf to fortify the matter with arguments, seeing Master More *is author hereof sufficient? But whereas he doubteth of the edition, or imprinting of the book, indeed herein I doth commend and also acknowledge the man's modesty.*

Howbeit, unto me it seemeth a work most unworthy to be long suppressed, and most worthy to go abroad into the hands of men; yea, and under the title of your name, to be published to the world: either because the singular endowments and qualities of Master More *be to no man better known than to you, or else because no man is more fit than you, with good counsels to further and advance the common-wealth: wherein you have many years already continued and travelled with great joy and commendations, both for wisdom and knowlege, and also of integrity and uprightness. Thus, O liberal supporter of good learning, and flower of this our time, I bid you most heartily well to fare!*

At Antwerp, 1516, the first
day of November.

SPECIMEN

OF

The Utopian Language.

A METRE of four verses in the UTOPIAN tongue, briefly touching as well the strange beginning, as also the happy and wealthy continuance, of the same common-wealth:

Utopus ha Boccas peula chama polta chamaan.
Bargol he maglomi Baccan soma gymnosophaon.
Agrama gymnosophon labarem bacha bodamilomin.
Voluala barchin heman la lauoluala dramme pagloni.

Which verses the translator, according to his simple knowledge, and mean understanding in the Utopian tongue, hath thus rudely englished:

My king and conquerour Utopus by name,
A prince of much renown and immortal fame,
Hath made me an isle that erst no island was,
Full freight with worldly wealth, with pleasure and solace.

I, one of all other, without philosophy,
Have shaped for man a philosophical city.
As mine, I am nothing dangerous to impart,
So better to receive, I am ready with all my heart.

A short metre of Utopia, written by ANEMOLIUS, *Poet-Laureat*, and nephew to HYTHLODAY, by his sister.

Me Utopie cleped antiquity,
Void of haunt and harbour.
Now am I like Plato's city,
Whose fame flieth the world through.
Yea like, or rather more likely,
Plato's platt to excell and pass,
For what Plato's pen hath platted briefly,
In naked words, as in a glass,
The same have I performed fully,
With laws, with men, and treasure fitly.
Wherefore not Utopia but rather rightly
My name is Eutopia: a place of felicity.

GERARD NOVIOMAGE, of *Utopia*.

Doth pleasure please? then place thee here, and well thee rest,
Most pleasant pleasures thou shall find here,
Doth profit ease? then here arrive, this isle is best;
For passing profits do here appear.
Doth both thee tempt, and wouldest thou gripe both gain and pleasure?

This isle is freight with both bounteously.
To still thy greedy intent, reap here incomparable treasure.
Both mind and tongue to garnish richly,
The hid wells and fountains both of vice and virtue,
Thou hast them here subject unto thine eye.
Be thankful now, and thanks where thanks be due,
Give to THOMAS MORE, London's immortal glory.

CORNELIUS GRAPHEY *to the Reader.*

Wilt thou know what wonders strange be in the land that late was found?
Wilt thou learn thy life to lead, by divers ways, and godly be?
Wilt thou of virtue and of vice understand the very ground?
Wilt thou see this wretched world, how full it is of vanity?
Then read, and mark, and bear in mind, for thy behalf, as thou may best:
All things that in this present work, that worthy clerk SIR THOMAS MORE,
With wit divine full learnedly, unto the world hath plain exprest:
In whom London well glory may, for wisdom and for godly lore.

*** *From the Edition of* 1556.

SUPPLEMENTAL NOTES.

Family of Sir T. More.

"He (John More) married a Yorkshire hieress, &c. and had by her five children; four of whom died shortly after coming of age—the *youngest* married, and had thirteen children."—p. xix.

This youngest child I apprehend to be Gertrude; who composed a very serious religious work, under the title of "*The Spiritual Exercises* of the most vertuous and religious D. Gertrude More, &c. she called them—*Amor ordinem nescit*—And Ideot's Devotions. Her only Spiritual Father and Directour the Ven. Fa. Baker stiled them *Confessiones Amantis*—A Lover's Confessions, &c. Printed at Paris, M.DC.LVIII. 12mo." With a beautifully executed line-engraving of the Authoress, by R. Lochon. The words "D. Gertrude More. Mag-

NES AMORIS AMOR," are inscribed under the engraving; which I conceive to be of excessive rarity. Some verses, opposite this portrait, tell us expressly that the work is the production of Sir Thomas More's grandchild.

Works of Sir T. More—p. lxxxii.

MORE'S *Richard III.* was reprinted by T. Paine, in 12mo. 1641. There are two title-pages to this publication: the first is called "*The Historie, &c. of Edward the V.*" the second "*The Tragicall Historie, &c. of Richard the IIId.*" The entire volume comprehends 461 pages. Portraits of Edward and Richard (the latter a very characteristic one) are prefixed to these titles. The work is dedicated to "Sir John Lenthall, Knight, Marshall of the King's Bench."

The Host or Landlord of an Alehouse.

"What sort of human beings the hosts were in former days, &c."—p. 61, note.

We have been favoured by CAXTON, in the second edition of his "*Book of Chess,*" with the following wood-cut

of this important personage—who is there made the Sixth Pawn in the Game.

"This resembleth," says our venerable typographer, "the *Taverners, Hostlers*, and sellers of victual!"

Male Accomplishments.

"Wine taverns, ale-houses, and tipling-houses, &c. with unlawful games, &c. do not

all these things send the haunters of them straight a stealing, when their money is gone?"—p. 65—8, 9.

"Dice play, and such other foolish and pernicious games, they know not."—p. 179.

In an "Epistle Dedicatory to the GENTRY, &c. of Northumberland, Bishoprick of Durham, Westmorland, and Cumberland," prefixed to a rare *Catalogue of Books*, (which is noticed at large in a subsequent page,) publ. A. D. 1658—we have the following energetic exhortation:

"Let *Tinkers* and *vulgar brains* drown and soak their meaner wits and conceptions in draining a country ale-house! Let *Gentlemen* seek their own honor, and blazon their own reputation, by their noble and brave deportment; which is only to be accomplished by study, reading, and converse with discreet and wise men. And thus may you prove thorns in the way of wickedness, rather than supporters and nourishers of debauched courses; to the ruin of your own fortunes, and blush of your relations. Thus may you strive to recover yourselves from the tyranny of common education, which lies now much in wearing fine cloaths, eating, sleeping, drinking, and knowing nothing above the degree of common and low understanding; many being, only by their rude demeanors, the constables, slaves, and a derision to all: drowning those parts, bestowed with their parents cost, and, it may be, purchased with the sweat of their own industry. Thus, like high spirited horses, that beat out their fiery lives in their own litters! Pure oil cannot mingle with water; nor the extracted quintes-

sence of true nobleness (in a right gentleman) with the dregs and subsistence of unworthiness," sign. A. 4. B. Consult also Braithwait's "*Nursery for Gentry*," which abounds with beautiful and apt sentiments upon this subject.

There is some force in the following quotation from a more ancient, and popular, writer.

"To be a *Gentle borne*, and to use him selfe ungently, is even as much as to shame hym selfe and his. There have bene found many, which came of a low birth, but they garnished their kyndred so with vertues and noble actes, that they and their stocke attayned to great prosperity."

COVERDALE'S *Christian State of Matrimony*, 1575. 8vo. fol. 51.

The following was SIR THOMAS SMYTH'S description of a *Gentleman*, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, which the reader may think as appropriate as any definition supplied him by the learning of modern times.

"As for *Gentlemen*, they be made good cheap in England. For whosoever studieth the laws of the realm, who studieth in the Universities, who professeth liberal sciences, and to be short, who can live idly and without manual labour, and will bear the port, charge, and countenance of a Gentleman, he shall be called *Master;* for that is the title which men give to esquires and other gentlemen—and shall be taken for a gentleman: for true it is with us, as is said, "*Tanti eris aliis quanti tibi fceris*," &c. &c.

De Repub. Anglor. ch. 20. p. 27.

The following excellent observations upon "*Dice playing*," and its evil consequences, by a writer contemporary

with MORE, are well deserving the reader's attention; for although two centuries and a half have elapsed since they were written, yet, unfortunately, even at this day, we witness too many instances of their being founded in truth.

"I suppose there is not a more plain figure of idleness, than *playing at dice.* For besides, that therein is no manner of exercise of the body or mind, they which play thereat, must seem to have no portion of wit or cunning, if they will be called fair players, or in some company avoid the stab of a dagger, if they be taken with any crafty conveyance. And because always wisdom is therein suspected, there is seldom any playing at dice, but thereat is vehement chiding and brawling, horrible oaths, cruel, and sometimes mortal menaces. I omit strokes, which now and then do happen, oftentimes between bretheren and most dear friends, if fortune bring alway to one man evil chances, which maketh the play of the other suspected. O why should that be called a *play*, which is compact of malice and *robbery*? Undoubtedly they that write of the first inventions of things have good cause to suppose Lucifer, prince of devils, to be the first inventor of *dice-playing*, and hell the place where it was found, although some do write that it was first invented by Attalus. For what better allective could Lucifer devise, to allure and bring men pleasantly into damnable servitude, than to purpose to them, in form of a play, his principal treasury wherein the more part of sin is contained, and all goodness and virtue confounded?

"The first occasion to play, is tediousness of virtuous occupation. Immediately succeedeth coveting of another man's goods, which they call playing: thereto is annexed

avarice and strait keeping, which they call winning; soon after cometh swearing, in renting the members of God, which they name nobleness (for they will say, *he that sweareth deep sweareth like a lord!*) then followeth fury or rage, which they call courage: among them cometh inordinate watch, which they name painfulness; he bringeth in gluttony, and that is good fellowship; and after cometh sleep superfluous, called among them natural rest; and he sometimes bringeth in lechery, which is now named dalliance. The name of this treasury is very idleness, the door whereof is left wide open to dice-players: if they hap to bring in their company learning, virtuous business, liberality, patience, charity, temperance, good diet, or shamefastness, they must leave them without the gates; for evil custom, which is the porter, will not suffer them to enter."

"How many *gentlemen*, how many *merchants*, have in this damnable pastime consumed their substance as well by their own labours, as by their parents, with great study and painful travel in a long time acquired, and finished their lives in debt and penury? how many goodly and bold yeomen hath it brought unto theft, whereby they have prevented the course of nature, and died by the order of the laws miserably?

Sir THOMAS ELYOT'S *Boke of the Governour*, p. 79 rev. 80 rev. 81. edit. 1553.

Of the Ancient Fool and Morris Dancer.

"There chanced to stand by a certain jesting parasite or scoffer, which would seem to resemble and counterfeit THE FOOL."—p. 90.

When the note upon "FOOLS," subjoined to this text, was written, it had not been my good fortune to see Mr. Douce's "Illustrations of Shakspeare and of Ancient Manners:"—this admirable work having been published after the text of the Utopia had been printed.

Mr. DOUCE's dissertation "*On the Clowns and Fools of Shakspeare,*" is followed by another "*On the Gesta Romanorum,*" and a third "*On the Ancient English Morris Dance:*" to the first and third dissertations, the following cuts, which perhaps had escaped the recollection of Mr. Douce, may not be considered an uninteresting Supplemental Illustration.

The *first* engraving of THE FOOL, I obtained in an obscure shop, amidst some excellent Albert Durers; and from the old French text printed at the back of it (it being cut out of a book), and the admirable style of the cut itself, I should conjecture it to be upwards of 250 years old, and probably executed by MELCHOIR LORICH.*

* We have sometimes a representation of THE FOOL, in the ornamented title-pages of books printed at the commencement of the 16th century: especially of those printed

The *second*, of the MORRIS-DANCER, is curious, inasmuch as it shews how the fondness for the *handkerchief*, among the morris-dancers in the middle of the 17th century, had superseded the use of *bells*, and other ornaments for the hand. The under-written verses give us a lively description of the

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by Froben—of which Erasmus was the author or editor, and his friend Hans Holbein most probably the designer.

personal appearance of this important character.

With a noyse and a din,
Comes the *Maurice-Dancer* in:
With a fine linnen shirt, but a Buckram skin.
Oh! he treads out such a peale,
From his paire of legs of veale,
The quarters are idols to him.
Nor do those Knaves inviron
Their toes with so much iron,
T'will ruine a Smith to shoe him.
Ay, and then he flings about,
His sweat and his clout,
The wiser think it two ells;
While the Yeomen find it meet,
That he jangle at his feet,
The fore-horses right eare jewels.

Recreation for Ingenious Head Pieces, &c. edit. 1667. 12mo. Sign. X. rev.

The Courtier.

Page 99.—Add the following to the note upon *Courtiers*, from Boiastuau.

" A neare resemblance (as if sprung from one stemme) may this sweet-breath'd bird seeme to have to our COURT POPINJAY: whose *sense* most commonly consists in *scent*. His action or gesture is nothing but cringes; his breath an ayry complement; his rinde (to make this cinnamon-similitude more full) worth all his body beside.

When Jupiter's and Juno's wedding was solemnised of old—to make the solemnity more complete, the Gods were all invited to the Feast, and many Noblemen beside. Among the rest came Chrysalus, a Persian Prince, bravely attended; rarely accoutred, rich in golden attires, in gay robes, with a majesticall presence, a formall posture, a portly encounter, but otherwise an asse. The Gods seeing him come in such pompe and state, rose up to give him place, *Ex habitu hominem metientes*. But Jupiter perceiving what he was, a light, phantastick, idle fellow, turned him and his proud followers into *Butterflies*. And so they continue still [for ought I know to the contrary, if the fiction hold with the verity] roving about in pied coats, and are called *Chrysalides* by the wiser sort of men; that is, Golden out-sides, Drones, Flies, and things of no worth, &c."

" These silken gulls, who are only to be valued by what they *weare*, not what they *are*, in this very morall receive their censure. They prease into the highest places; converse with eminent'st persons; thrust themselves upon

greatest businesse; but fall off still with some palpable disgrace to themselves."

BRAITHWAIT'S *Nursery for Gentry*, p. 182. edit. 1638.

Ancient English Exercises.

To the note from Elyot's *Castel of Health*, at p. 156. might have been added an extract or two from FITZ-STEPHEN and STOW; but Sir Thomas Elyot is an author who is not so generally known. And yet the reader would have probably condemned me, if I had suppressed the following curious extract from Fitz-Stephen, (who wrote in the reign of Hen. II.) which seems to be tacitly assented to by Stow as being the practice of his own (Queen Elizabeth's) days.

"In the holidays, all the summer, the youths are *exercised* in leaping, dancing, shooting, wrestling, casting the stone, and practising their shields. The maidens, as soon as the moon rises, dance to the guitar, and with their nimble movements shake the ground.* In winter, every

* The Horatian language of old FITZ-STEPHEN is as follows; (according to Hearne's reprint of it, at the end of LELAND'S *Itinerary*, vol. viii. p. 46. edit. 1770.) "Puellarum Citheræa *ducit choros, et pede libero pulsatur tellus, usque imminente luna.*" Dr. Pegge, in his translation of this work, has a note upon the three last words, and would intimate, with Strype, that it should be rendered *until moonlight*—alledging, that it seems extraordinary, in summer,

holy day before dinner, the boars prepared for brawn are set to fight; or else bulls and bears are baited."

See FITZ-STEPHEN's *Description of London*, 4to. 1772. Pegge's, edit. p. 49, 50. and STOW's *Survey of London*, edit. 1603, p. 93. Strype's edit. 1720. vol. i. p. 247.

Female Accomplishments.

" —weigh and consider with yourselves how great a part of the people in other countries liveth idle. First, almost all *women;* which be the half of the whole numbers."—p. 181.

" Beauty, strength, nimbleness, these, as peculiar and pleasant gifts of nature, they make much of."—p. 260.

" To despise the comliness of beauty, to

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when the days are long, the maids should not begin to dance till moon-light." But it had escaped this learned antiquary, that though summer days are *long*, they are nevertheless *hot*—and that the cool of the evening, and the radiance of the moon, are the more natural incitements to dance. Something more might be advanced upon the construction of the sentence, as it stands in Hearne, but perhaps " more than enough" has been already said.

waste the bodily strength, to turn nimbleness into slothfulness, to consume and make feeble the body, to do injury to health, and to reject the pleasant motions, this of nature to do, they think a point of extreme madness!"—p. 261.

These texts of the Utopia, from different places, but concentrating in one object, viz. *Female Accomplishments*, are selected in order to introduce the following striking picture of a wise and good woman, from Dr. Whitlock's ZΩΟTOMIA."—Lond. 1654, 8vo.—an amusing and well written, but very inaccurately printed book.

"Next being *good*, she counts the addition *wise*, another part of a woman's portion: and therefore (though she first dress herself by the *Myrrour of Mirrours*), she looks for *Modes* and *Dresses* in that exchange of *Books* whence she culls the best. She knoweth no reason books should be engrossed by *Men*, or that time spent in them is not as good as to be a whole forenoon, *Narcissus-like*, admiring a good—or, *Botcher-like*, mending a bad—face in her glass, Those dead monitors of her eternity she loves; and indeed when she is minded of it by any alive, thinks it not necessary that presently she should conceit herself in a church—or looks about to spy the *black serge* or *cassock* of him that speaks—but thinks it might as gracefully tip the tongue of any *He* or *She* that retains to corruption, and these dying elements. She counts it as pleasant to converse with Historians, Poets, Philosophers, &c. though now rotten, as with the finest perfumed "*Your humble-servant-*

Madam" alive! Her *knowledge*, by discretion, she tempers to a *mean*, that learning's engrosser among the males might allow her; and corrects by it exuberances of fancy, or desires, which various reading might imprint on such waxy molds, &c. Concerning her *beauty*, she will owe it to none but *nature;* she doth not borrow it from art; it sleeps with her in her bed not closet; it maketh never an item (jig by joal with Plaisters or Syring) in her Apothecary's bill. That beauty she hath, she overvalues not—and counts it part of it so to do; according to St. Austin—" *She is truly fair that knows it not!*"

" She can preach the frailty of it to herself, as well as any cast-off lover ever could! and knows, as well as he, a pin may raze it into deformity, or the sting of a bee alter it even from knowledge for a time. If she paints, she borroweth from *modesty* the blushing *red; pale*, from fear of doing any thing that might stain her honour, or defile her conscience, &c. She is of the mind of *Philo's* wife, who being asked why she alone did not wear rich attire, since she might, answered—" *The husband's virtue was the wife's best ornament,*" p. 351, 2, 3.

Ale and Beer drinking.

" There be neither wine taverns, nor ale-houses, &c."—p. 212.

To the long note subjoined to this passage, as here referred to, and in particular to the observations drawn from Gascoigne and Peacham, I add the following:

From the famous "*Regimen Sanitatis Salerni*," written by John of Milan, about the end of the 11th century, and translated by THOMAS PAYNELL, in 1575, (a book of which Ames and Herbert were ignorant, and for the loan of which I am indebted to the ever-prompt kindness of Mr. Heber), the reader is presented with the following account

"*Of the Qualities of Good Ale.*

Non ut acetosa cervicia, sed bene clara
De validis cocta granis satis ac veterata.

"This texte declareth v thynges, by which one maye knowe good ale. The *fyrst* is, that it be not sower, for that hurteth the stomake. A sower thinge, as Avicen sayeth in many places, hurteth the senowes, and the stomake is a membre full of senowes, specially about the brimme or mouth. The *seconde* thynge is, that ale must be clere; for troubled ale is a stopper, and hurteth them over much that have the stone; it fatteth and enflateth and maketh one shorte winded, and engendreth muche fleume. The *thyrde* thinge is, that ale should be made of good corne that is not corrupt; that is to say, of the beste barley, wheate, or ootes: for the better the corne is, the better is the humour thereof engendred. The *fourthe* thinge is that ale ought to be well sodde: for that causeth it the better to be digested and more amyable to be receyved of nature: and the inconveniences thereof growyng are the better borne. For if the ale be not wel sodde, it engendreth the ventosities in the bealy, gnawyng, enflation, and colycke. The *fifth* thynge is, that ale ought to be stale and well pourged. For new ale engendreth the

same hurte that ale doth the whiche is not well sodde: and also, doth lyght breade the strayne coylyon."—fol. liiii.

In "*The Philosopher's Banquet*," published in 1633, p. 25. we have this sagacious disquisition about *Ale and Beer*. "ALE," (as saith RASES), "especially made of *barley*, weekens the nerves and sinews: causeth dullnesse and head ache; yet provoketh urine, and represseth the heat of drunkennesse, That which is made of *wheat*, mixed with *parsley* and other herbs, is adjudged best of all men; as that which is only puffed up with forcible ingredients, to shew a strength in weakness, wherein no virtue or goodness remaineth else, is accounted worst. Of which one writeth;

ALE *for antiquity may plead and stand,*
Before the conquest, conquering in this land:
BEER, *that is younger brother to her age,*
Was then not borne, nor ripe to be her page:
In every peddling village, borough, towne,
ALE *play'd at foot-ball, and tript all lads down:*
And though she's rivall'd now by BEER, *her mate,*
Most doctors wait on her, that shews her state."

In that curious and much coveted collection of miscellaneous poetry, published in the middle of the 17th century, under the title of "*Recreation for Ingenious Head Pieces, or a Pleasant Grove for their Wits to walk in*," we have two rival panegyrics upon the virtues of *Sack* and *Ale*. In the first, *Ale* is thus abused:

This muddy drench of *Ale* does taste too much
Of earth; the *malt* retains a scurvy touch

Of the dull hand that sows it; and I fear
There's heresy in *Hops*: give blockheads beer,
And silly Ignoramus; such as think
There's Powder-treason in all Spanish drink!
Call *Sack* an idol! we will kiss the cup
For fear the Conventicle be blown up
With Superstition: away with the *Brew-house alms*,
Whose best mirth is six shillings beer, and qualms.

The Answer of ALE *to the Challenge of* SACK.

Come, all you brave Wights,
That are dubbed Ale-knights,
Now set out yourselves in fight:
And let them that crack
In the praises of *Sack*,
Know *Malt* is of mickle might.

Though Sack they define,
To be holy, divine,
Yet is it but natural liquor;
Ale hath for its part,
An addition of art
To make it drink thinner or thicker.

Sack's fiery fume
Doth waste and consume
Men's humidum radicale;
It scaldeth their livers,
It breeds burning fevers,
Proves *vinum venenum reale*,

But history gathers,
From aged forefathers
That *Ale's* the true liquor of life;
Men liv'd long in health,
And preserved their wealth,
Whilst *Barley-broth* only was rife.*

Sack quickly ascends,
And suddenly ends—
What company came for at first:
And that which yet worse is,
It empties men's purses
Before it half quenches their thirst.

Ale is not so costly,
Although that the most lye
Too long by the oil of the barley;
Yet may they part late,
At a reasonable rate,
Though they come in the morning early.

Sack makes men from words
Fall to drawing of swords,
And quarrelling endeth their quaffing;
Whilst *Dagger-Ale* barrels
Bear off many quarrels,
And often turn chiding to laughing.

* *Common—frequent, abounding.*

Sack's drink for our *masters:*
All may be Ale-tasters!
Good things the more common the better:
Sack's but single broth:
Ale's meat, drink, and cloth,
Say they that know never a letter!

But not to entangle
Old friends, till they wrangle
And quarrel for other men's pleasure—
Let *Ale* keep his place
And let *Sack* have his grace,
So that neither exceed the due measure."*

Sign. A. a. 5.

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* This is followed by a still more humourous jeu d'esprit, shewing "*The triumph of* TOBACCO *over Sack and Ale,*" which begin thus;

Nay, soft, by your leaves!
Tobacco bereaves
You both of the garland: forbear it!
You are two to one—
Yet Tobacco alone
Is like both to win it, and wear it!
&c. &c. &c.

It is a little surprising, that, in the present rage for the literature of our ancestors, no bookseller has had the courage to reprint [subject to the omissions which a judicious editor would suggest], this amusing and exceedingly rare poetical miscellany. Perhaps there is *no clean* copy of it in existence.

A Life according to Nature.

" And they define virtue to be—life ordered according to the prescript of nature." p. 239.

The following old French verses give us a pleasing idea of a quiet, rural life, " according to the prescript of nature;"

" Scais-tu, mon CHANLECY, comme j'aurois envie
De vivre, pour passer hereusement la vie ?
Suffisamment des biens, amassez sans labeur,
Par liberalité de quelque donateur :
Voir mes champs non ingrats fertiles chasque année,
Avoir tousiours bon feu dedans ma cheminée,
Haranguer rarement, n' avoir aucun procez,
L'esprit bien à repos, ne faire point d'excez,
Estre en bonne santé, le corps net et agile,
Sage simplicité, tenir table facile,
Sans art de cuisinier, et encore je voudroy
Des amis, ny plus grands, ny plus petits que moy ;
Une joyeuse nuit, n'etre toutefois yvre,
Un lict chaste et gaillard, de tous soucis delivre,
Le sommeil gracieux rendant courtes les nuits,
Vouloir tant seulement estre ce que je suis,

I will just add that another humourous song *in praise of Tobacco* may be found in the second volume of Mr. BELOE's entertaining *Anecdotes of Literature*, &c. p. 10. where may be perused many sprightly " Old Songs" from the Garrick Collection.

Ne souhaiter la mort, et moins encor la craindre,
Je ne te sçaurois mieux tous mes souhaits depeindre;
Que si je ne les puis entierement avoir,
J'en pren ce que je puis, selon que je peux voir."

See pt. iii. p. 35. of that eccentric and witty book, called "*Les Bigarrures et Touches du Seigneur des Accords,*" Rouen, 12mo. 1616. Five parts: with separate title pages.

There is a good deal in these lines which reminds us of HORACE's Ode, "*Beatus ille qui procul negotiis, &c.*"—of which Pope (when he was a boy of twelve years of age) has given so beautiful an imitation.

Hawking—p. 249.

To the long note upon hawking here referred to, may be added the following curious admonition to the keepers of "faukons" in the middle of the 16th century.

"But I would our faukons might be satisfied with the division of their prey, as the faukons of Thacia were, that they needed not to devour the *hens* of this realm, in such number, and that unless it be shortly considered, and that faukons be brought to a more homely diet, it is right likely, that within a short space of years, our familiar poultry shall be as scarce, as be now partridge and pheasant. I speak not this in dispraise of the faukons but of them, which keepeth them like *Cokneys*. The mean gentlemen, and honest householders, which care for the gentle entertainment of their friends, do find in their dish that I speak

truth, and noblemen shall right shortly espy it, when they come suddenly to their friend's house, unpurveyed for lack of long warning."—ELYOT's *Boke of the Governour*, p. 61. rev.

The subjoined figure is that of a man who used to attend the sport with hawks, or to sell them in the streets, thus arrayed. It is taken from the "*Devices Heroiques de Paradin*," edit. M.D.LXIII. fol. 173. A nearly similar figure sometimes appears in Wouverman's paintings of this subject.

Fitz-S tephens tells us that the good citizens of London, in his time "delighted themselves in hawks and hounds"—and Stow, in Q. Elizabeth's time, observes, that "sliding upon the ice is now but child's play; but in *hawking* and hunting many grave citizens, at this present, have great delight, and do rather want leisure than good will to follow it."—*Survey of London*, p. 94, 6. edit. 1603.

The Properties of the Soul.

" To the soul they give intelligence, and that delectation that cometh of the contemplation of truth."—p. 254.

In the year 1642, was published at Cambridge, a thin duodecimo volume, written by H. M. Master of Arts, and Fellow of Christ's colledge; called " ΨΥΧΩΔΙΑ *Platonica; or a Platonicall Song of the Soul.*" In this poem, divided into Books and Cantos, in the Spenserian measure, the offices and objects of the soul, are sometimes very beautifully drawn.—It is full of Platonic mysticism; but there are passages in it of uncommon vigour and brilliancy. I suspect that Thomson, in his *Castle of Indolence*, had his eye as often upon this poem as upon Spenser. The similarities of thought and metre are frequent.

Of the proper Use of Wine.

All the Utopians grant it [sc. *eating* and *drinking*] to be a right sovereign pleasure; and, as you would say, the foundation and ground of all pleasure; as which even alone is able to make the state and condition of life delectable and pleasant,"—p. 255. and see BULLEIN's commendation of wine.—p. 259.

The late Dr. Darwin (as I have heard his friends say—and as I believe he somewhere insinuates, if not expressly

avows, in his Zoonomia,) declared that excess of *eating* was not pernicious—but that the mischief lay in *drinking*—which, in every modification of strong liquor, he strenuously opposed. Dr. Thomas Whitaker, a physician who lived a century and half before him, had an opinion so entirely different with respect to the *drinking of wine*, that he published a commendatory work upon it, under the title of "*The Blood of the Grape.*" Printed in 1654. 12mo.

The author very candidly begins by telling us his own case—"I could render (says he) an empyricall argument from my own affect, which was then an "*Atrophia totius corporis,*" or consumption of the whole body—and left by the most perite physicians as incurable. My valetudinary temper then, being until the age of thirty years, affrighted at the sight of one glass of wine; being a strick observer of such advice as must be accompted more learned than my young studies could produce. But when I was left to my own free choice of any thing my reason could present, or appetite require, upon those grounds of philosophy which I had meditated. *I did cast my anchor at the root of this plant;* and, by the constant use of this juice, recovered, in the space of twelve months, perfection of cure; and have in such state of health continued *twenty-two years after*, and void of a consumptive disposition to this day." He then says that "This is a nectar and ambrosia for princes, and as pleasant contemplation for physitians, learnedly to undertake the practice of it," &c. p. 95, 6.

But, at p. 107, he prudently cautions the reader that "the principal difficulty will be in obtaining *pure wine without sophistication:* for which cause (says he) I can cordially commend, as much as desire, *the Scotish severity*

established among the English nation—and that the sophisticators of wine may suffer punishment above any ordinary thief; as not only picking the purse of all nations, but with a secret venene mixture paynfully afflicting them—no vehicle being so proper to conveigh any malignity or venemous quality to the universal spirits of any creature, as *wine.*"

Our author is very curious about the different sorts of wine for different periods in life. "Adolescency being of a middle temper and predominancy, neither hot nor cold, nor moist nor dry, will moderately—and with observation of time, clime, and quantities—admit of *white, claret*, and *rhenish wines*, without any fear. Juventus, being of a temper more hot and dry, must, with the former aspects, apply itself to the forenamed names; and if they sensibly appear not sufficiently moistening, it is sooner affected by the addition of a little of *fountain water*. Virile age, from 35 to 49, broacheth a vessel of *more rich claret*, and passeth out with a taste of the smallest *Sack*; which Senectus maketh more strong by more rich sack, muscadins and aligants, and continueth their use to the utter extent and period of life." p. 101, 2. At pp. 86, 7, 8. we have an account of the wonderful effects of the "*Blood of the Grape*," in curing a melancholy Jew, a feverish Cardinal, an epileptic young Gentlewoman, a young Spaniard in a burning fever, and a citizen of Luca, afflicted with vertigo and dizziness, &c.

"*Wine* (says a somewhat earlier writer) yeelds good nourishment, keepes the body in health: neither is there any meat or drinke found so comfortable unto it, for the naturall heat and familiarity it hath therewithall; exceedingly

strengthening digestion, the heat thereof being like unto our naturall heat; and therefore soon converted into pure and perfect blood. Moreover, it clarifies all thicke, grosse, and corrupt blood, and opens and clears the entrances and passages throughout the whole body, especially the veines; opening the stoppings likewise in the pores and pipes of the body; driving away the dark mists, fumes, and follies begotten of sorrow between the fancy and the braine; strengthening all the members of the body; chearing the heart, and making the mind forgetfull of sorrow; causing mirth, audacity, and sharpnesse of wit, enlightening the understanding; but all these with moderation. We conclude, in the generality, of the vertue and praise of *wine*, that the use of it is excellent,—the abuse set aside." *Philosopher's Banquet*, London 1633. 12mo. p. 21.

"Many good thyngs come by drinking of wine sobrely; that is to say, the voydyng of coler, the quickeninge of the corporal might and wyt, and the aboundance of the subtyle spirites."

"*Regimen Sanitatis Salerni*" translated by T. PAYNELL, 1575. Fol. liiii. a work of which some slight account is given at p. 416. ante.

Pleasures of the Mind.

"They embrace chiefly THE PLEASURES OF THE MIND: for them they count the chiefest and most principal of all.—p. 258.

If the reader be anxious to peruse one of the best dissertations extant, on *Mental Accomplishments*, let him examine

"*An Introduction to the Use of Books*" prefixed to an early Catalogue of books,* and described in the note beneath.

"Let us now (says the author) see the excellency of *Learning* and *Knowledge;* and should I fathom this depth, my shallow capacity would be drowned 'ere I came nigh the bottom: I should be lost in the pursuit: should I travel over these vast Perrenian mountains, I should be too long a coming to my journey's end, and perhaps tire the reader to go with me; but I'll court brevity. Herein consists a part of their excellency, that they cannot be purchased with riches or monies, but with the sweat of the mind only; for were it not so, fools that are rich would be wise men, and all that have monies would be scholars; which is too great a paradox to interpret. And herein lies another part of the excellency of them—that, such minds as are soaked in *learning* and *knowledge*, have their intellectuals clarified; their natures softened; reason, which lay fallow and in theory only, is now forced into practice. That which was

* "A Catalogue of the most vendible books in England, orderly and alphabetically digested, &c. The like work never yet performed by any." London 1658, 4to. As the pages of this book are not numbered, it will be necessary for the purchaser to see that it has an "Epistle Dedicatory," and an "Epistle to the Reader," which precede the "Introduction to the use of Books." In this Introduction, almost every popular English writer, up to the period when it was composed, is quoted or referred to. Such an excellent treatise has never since accompanied any bookseller's catalogue.

in bullion, is now coined and minted, having the stamp of majesty put upon it: the mind now flourishes with strong abilities; is made capable to help and guide others, and itself. Others are better, himself no worse. In the full view of this, Cicero cries out "*Oh Wisdom, the guide of our life, the enemy to vice,* and *supporter of vertue.*" Sign D. 4. rev. and E.

Again: "These are the *true riches* which cannot be taken from me; which are situate from the finger of the greedy plunderer. The evil fate of cloudy times cannot make me compound for these riches within, nor can the sequesterer deprive me of a thought; they are beyond his reach. The freedom of my soul hath a charter to uphold it, that envy itself cannot touch nor break. I can traffic for knowledge in the midst of fiery combustions and perturbations, and no cannon can reach me. I can sit in a contemplative cabin, and no martial alarm can disturb me. These riches cannot be decimated. "That's my happiness"—says a noble mind thus loaden,—"I can hide the greatest treasures in the world, and yet carry them with me, and not a burden more than the feathers of a bird, or the leaves of a tree." Sign. E. 1. rev.

Once more: "*Wisdom* and *Knowledge* are the very loadstones and attractives of all honor; these are they which aggrandise a man's acceptation to the most wise with great affection and courtesie. His worth is perpetuated with the remembrance of honor, when his dust is offensive. The beauty and lustre that learning and knowledge sets upon him that enjoys them, are their natural escutcheons. He that is thus qualified, is honored at home in the city where

he lives, beloved by his country, and is indeed the honour of it. It's better to be envied for thy parts above others, than pitied and laughed at for thy ignorance For what is it, I pray tell me, that Cæsar stands on record so much as for his learning? So Homer, and all the royal philosophers, and thousands that can now be only reverenced in their graves—their thoughts are as perfumes to study."—Sign. E. 3.

Consult also "*Learning's Apology*," p. 138. of Dr. Whitlock's ΖΩΟΤΟΜΙΑ, or "*Observations on the present Manners of the English*," quoted at p. 414. ante.

Marriage Ceremonies and Festivals.

Page 282.

In his account of the *Utopian marriages*, More says nothing of the feasts and merriments, which, in his own country, usually attended them at the period when he wrote.

STRUTT, in the third volume of his "*Manners and Customs*," p. 154, has referred us to some authorities about the marriage *processions* and *presents* of our ancestors,—but in regard to the *merry makings*, he does not appear to have consulted a rare book which would have afforded him some curious information upon the subject. I allude to COVERDALE'S "*Christian State of Matrimony*," printed by Awdeley, in the black letter, A. D. 1575. The following account will perfectly reconcile us to the superiority of *modern* marriage festivals, even among the middling classes of society.

"Early in the morning the wedding people begin to exceede in superfluous eating and drinking, whereof they spit, untill the half sermon be done. And when they come to the preaching, they are halfe dronken; some altogether: therefore regard they not the preaching nor prayer, but stand there only because of the custome. Such folkes also do come unto the church with all maner of pomp and pride, and gorgeousness of raiment and jewels. They come with a great noyse of basens and drooms, wherewith they trouble the whole church.——And even as they come to the church, so go they from the church again; light, nice, in shamefull pompe and vaine wantonnes." Fol. 58, rev.—9.

"After the banket and feast, their beginneth a vaine, mad, and unmanerly fashion; for the *bride* must be brought into an open dauncing place. Then is there such a running, leaping and flinging among them;————————that a man might think all these dauncers had cast all shame behinde them, and were become starke mad and out of their wits, and that they were sworne to the devil's daunce. Then must the poore bride keepe foote with all dauncers, and refuse none, how scabbed, foule, dronken, rude, and shameles soever he be! Then must she oft tymes heare and see much wickednes, and many an uncomly word. And that noyse and romblyng endureth even tyll supper."

"As for *supper*, looke how much shameles and dronken the evening is more then the morning, so much the more vice, exces, and misnurture is used at the supper. After supper, must they begin to pipe and daunce again of anew. And though the *young persons* (being weary of the babling noyse and inconvenience,) come once towards their rest,

yet can they have no quietness! For a man shall find unmanerly and restles people that wyll first go to their chamber doore, and there syng vicious and naughty balates—that the devil may have his whole triumphe now to the uttermost!" Fol. 59. rev. 60.

This dissoluteness of manners may, by some, be supposed to have been silently countenanced by the indelicate phraseology of the marriage vow uttered at the altar, previous to the Reformation. Whoever happens to possess Regnault's magnificent edition of the Catholic Prayer book printed at Paris in 1529. [vid. fol. xlvi.] will have reason to applaud the alteration which our venerable Reformers introduced into the Liturgy in this particular.

Face-painting.

"Also as they count and reckon very little wit to be in him that regardeth not natural beauty and comeliness, so, to *help the same with paintings*, is taken for a vain and wanton pride."—p. 294.

When the long note upon *face-painting* was inserted under this text, it did not occur to me to consult a singular performance upon the subject, well known to collectors, called "*The Loathsomnesse of Long Haire*: with an Appendix against painting spots, naked backs and breasts, &c." By Thomas Hall B. D. London 1654. 12mo. As a speci-

men of the style and mode of reasoning of this author, the reader is presented with the following:

"[Painting] is the badge of an harlot; rotten posts are painted, and gilded nutmegs are usually the worst. We read but of one, in all the word of God, that ever painted herself, and that was *Jezebel*. No wonder then that they are ranged among harlots, who follow their guise. When people intend to set or let their houses, they use to paint them; though I dare not say they are all harlots that paint, yet this I may safely say, they have the harlot's badge, and their chastity is questionable—and therefore let all who would be accounted modest matrons, abhorre it. It becomes not the spouse of Christ, to go in the harlot's guise.

"Lying is unlawful; but this painting and disguising of faces, is no better than dissimulation and lying. They teach their faces to lye, and to shew what it is not; and so by deceiving others, at last they deceive themselves: getting deformity instead of beauty; losing that true beauty which they have by nature. By their medicines and minerals, oft making their faces to wrinkle, their colour pale, oft poysoning their skin and dimming their eyesight."* P. 101—2.

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* Some account of the author of this singular treatise may be found in Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. II. col. 345,—where he is called "a lover of books and learning, and of a retired and obscure life, never looking further than his beloved *King's-Norton* (his Living). He warmly espoused the Presbyterian Party, and seems to have been nearly as zealous as Prynne in shewing his ridiculous aversion to "Bishops and Ceremonies." A very high character

Of Antient Fire Arms.

" Engines for war they devise and invent wondrous wittily.—p. 329.

Add to the note, subjoined to this text, the following:

From the authorities quoted in GROSE's " *Military Antiquities,*" vol. i. 152. we learn that fire arms were first used about the year 1460—7, as mentioned by Monstrelet and Juvenal des Ursins. Fire arms discharged by the hand were first called hand cannons, hand culverines, and hand guns; they afterwards acquired the appellation of hackbuts, harquebusses, muskets, and calivers, and lastly their present name of *firelocks*. Edward IVth. first introduced hand guns into this kingdom, by bringing with him, among other forces, 300 Flemings armed with hand-guns." This event took place in the year 1471. Dr. Anderson and other writers assign the date of their introduction to the year 1521, at the siege of Berwick. The musket is mentioned as a weapon of the infantry in Poland in the year

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of him was given in Richard Moore's " Pearl in an Oyster-shell, or pretious Treasure put in perishing Vessels." Lond. 8vo. 1675. Wood, ibid.

T. Hall, who was not destitute of classical learning, might have quoted the celebrated reply of Gyges to Candaules, when the latter wished him to view his wife naked,—παρὰ γὰρ τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι, σχεδὸν δὲκαι παρὰ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι βαρβάροισι, καὶ ανδρα οφθῆναι γυμνὸν, ἐς αἰσχυνην μεγάλην φερει.—Herod. Clio. edit. Edinb. 1806. vol. i. 29.

1475. Pistols were so called from being made at *Pistoja* or *Pistoje* in Tuscany: they are mentioned as early as the year 1544.

Among the books referred to by Mr. Grose, in illustration of his amusing and very erudite work, I have not been able to discover an ancient one (of which I consider myself lucky in the possession of a copy) called "*Three Bookes of Colloquies concerning the Arte of Shooting in great and small Peeces of Artillerie*," &c. &c. Translated by CYPRIAN LUCAR, from the original Italian of TARTAGLIA, and adorned with numerous cuts. Impr. by J. Harrison, London, 1588. fol. The translation of the Italian extends to p. 80: the original appendix, named "LUCAR APPENDIX," contains 120 pages.

The original, as it appears from Tartaglia's dedication, was written in 1537—and considering the then infantine state of the art of gunnery, has uncommon merit—Lucar's plates are very useful illustrations. The work was divided into colloquies by the translator; and from the 25th. (p. 46, 7, in which the *Interlocutors* are Schioppetiero and Nicholas Tartaglia), I extract the following—for the benefit of such modern sportsmen who may not be acquainted with the skill, or the sporting dress, of our ancestors.

"*Schioppetiero.* Certainly you say true therein: for you shall understand that I have, in my time, killed with my peece 2000 little birdes, and my long experience hath taught mee to know that which now you have told mee. Therefore when I have occasion to shoote at any little birde sitting on a height upon a tree within a

convenient distance, I take my marke alwayes at the feete of the bird—but when the bird sittes on a place lying level with my peece, then I take my mark precisely at the body of the birde—and by so doing I doe seldomtimes misse with my shoote."*

* Herbert has accurately described the title of this work, but a great deal of curious remark and interesting quotation is connected with it. It was preceded by a somewhat similar work, called "*N. Machiavel's Art of War*," translated by PETER WHITEHORNE, 4to. 1560, which has an admirable engraving for the title-page, chiefly in the outline. The name of *Niclas Inglande* is printed beneath; a name, which, if it be the engraver's, has escaped the researches of all the writers upon the art of engraving which I have had an opportunity of consulting.

Omnipotence of the Deity.

"HIM they call the father of all. To him alone they attribute the beginnings, the increasings, the proceedings, the changes, and the ends of all things."— p. 337.

Dr. Whitaker, in a book which has been before noticed, (vide p. 409.) and which, from its title, does not seem to be calculated to afford a quotation analagous to the above text, has the following just remark. "That therefore the vicissitudes and actions of things and humane nature, are not by chance, but by the ordination of the Almighty, ought to be a principle embraced by all Christian people; and that God is the omnipotent and eternal fabricator of the whole universe out of nothing: as is affirmed by divine testimony. This edifice being so powerfully erected, is also by the same efficacy conserved; who hath also appointed to every created thing both a beginning and end, or termination of subsisting and moving; and doth take notice not only of principal but also of subsequent causes of things."—*The Blood of the Grape*, p. 119.

But I entreat the reader to examine (if he be fortunate enough to possess the book), "*The French Academy of* PRIMAUDAYE: a work written in a style of peculiarly impressive eloquence—and which, not very improbably, was the foundation of Derham's and Paley's Natural Theology. It has been before alluded to at p. 287.

A virtuous Fame.

"And in the same place they set up a pillar of stone, with the dead man's titles therein engraved. When they be come home, they rehearse his virtuous manners and his good deeds.—They think that this remembrance of the virtue and goodness of the dead, doth vehemently provoke and enforce the living to virtue."—p. 352.

The following remarkably strong passage upon this subject should not be withheld from the reader. "No matter in which of the elements the body lodgeth, so long as the soul rests in Abraham's bosom. It is the virtue we leave behind, or rather carry with us, that is immortal. A good fame is the best odour, and a good name is a precious ointment which will condite our bodies best, and preserve our memories to all eternity. Such a lasting monument as this would better have preserved our Eighth luxurious Henry, than Wolsey's half-finished monument at Windsor; which neither his own posterity, nor any of his successors since, thought it worth the while to perfect. Poor Lazarus, as he had the starry heaven for his canopy, so was that his tomb: though he was fed at the door amongst the dogs, yet he lay buried in his mother's lap, attended hence with his own innocence, and a guard of angels."

"It is not then eulogiums, panegyrick orations, dirges,

epitaphs, heralds, mourners, obelisks, obsequies, or mausolæan monuments, so well as their own coins wherein they are effigiated, can eternize princes. Let them live exemplar monuments. Let their prince-like acts and actions write their epitaphs, and be their chief monuments; since only virtue "post funera vivit:" and "— cœlo tegitur, qui non habet urnam." For, doubtless, that man's bones on the North Church Yard rests in more quiet than his that lie entombed in the *Chancel*."

Paradoxical Assertions, &c. Lond. 1659. 12mo. p. 44—5.

For an account of this work, see p. lxii. note.

Soothsaying, Astrology, Alchemy, Magic, Witchcraft.

"They utterly despise and mock soothsayings, and divinations of things to come, and all other divination of vain superstition." p. 357.

Among these "vain superstitions," MORE ranks *Alchemy*, as well as *Astrology*. The latter is expressly noticed at p. 233. I beg leave to direct the reader's attention to a very extraordinary book "*Of Natural and Supernatural Things*," written by BASILIUS VALENTINUS, a Benedictine Monk, and translated by Daniel Cable, London, 12mo. 1670. The author tells us, (at p. 61, 2.) that he does "not give himself out for one who

knows to calculate the course of the heavens—for (says he) I should spend my time in my cell in prayer; but that the spare hours after my devotion is ended, may not be spent in vain, I have ordered and proposed it as my aim and intent to exercise myself, and to spend those hours in the knowledge of natural things."

At p. 89 he thus observes—"How shall we now do? the gross dull-witted lads will not apprehend it; the middle sort of wits will take no notice of what I write; and the supernatural wits will descant too much upon it."—Again he remarks at p. 131—"My persecutors and indiscreet physicians will now tell me thou talkest much of geese, and knowest not a duck—who knows whether all that thou writest be true?—He that is of such a resolution, may remain with the ducks; for he is not worthy of a roasted goose, nor to learn what is concealed in nature."

That our worthy Monk gave too just cause to be laughed at, by all the tribe of wits and philosophers, will sufficiently appear from the following specimen—from the third chapter "*On the Spirit of Mercury.*" "And that I may further declare what is the essence, matter, and form of the *Spirit of Mercury*, I say that its essence is blessed; its matter spiritual; and its form earthly; which yet *must be understood by an incomprehensible way!* These are indeed harsh expressions: many will think thy proposals are all vain, strange effusions, raising wonderful imaginations: and true it is, they are strange—and require *strange people to understand these sayings.* It is not written for peasants, how they should grease cart-wheels, &c. &c." But the achme of this "vain superstition" will be found in the

seventh Chapter "*Of the Spirit of Gold,*" which is equalled only by the mysterious nonsense and wild ravings of SWENDENBORG and SOUTHCOT!

Akin to this work, and ranking among the "vain superstitions of MORE, are the treatises upon *Witchcraft* and *Magic.* Of the latter we have a curious little book, written under the feigned name of EUGENIUS PHILALETHES —with the following title: "*Magia Adamica: or The Antiquitie of Magic, and the Descent thereof from Adam downwards proved. Whereunto is added a perfect and full Discoverie of the true Cœlum Terræ, or the Magician's Heavenly Chaos, and first matter of all things.*" London, 1650, 12mo.

Whatever may be the subject matter of this work, the *style* and the *learning* of the author are admirable. The love of metaphor has been seldom more strikingly displayed than in the following passage: "I have not without some labour, now traced this *science* [of magic] from the very fall of man to the day of his redemption. A long, and solitary pilgrimage! the paths being unfrequented because of the *Briars*, and scruples of antiquitie—and, in some places, overgrown with the *Poppie of oblivion.* I will not deny but in the *Shades* and *Ivie* of this *Wildernesse*, there are some *Birds of Night*, *Owles* and *Bats*, of a different feather from our *Phœnix*—I mean, some *Conjurers*, whose dark indirect affection to the name of *Magic*, made them invent traditions more prodigious than their practices. These I have purposely avoyded, lest they should *wormwood* my *stream*, and I seduce the reader through all these *Groves* and *Solitudes*, to the *waters of Marah.*"—p. 64, 5.

The following is in a different strain—" For thy better intelligence thou must know that Spirits, whiles they move in Heaven, which is the *Fire-World*, contract no impurities at all; according to that of STELLATUS;

Omne quod est supra Lunam, æternumque bonumque,
Esse scias, nec triste aliquid Cœlestia tangit.

" All (sayth hee) that is above the moon, is eternall and good, and there is no corruption of heavenly things. On the contrary, when Spirits descend to the *Elementall Matrix*, and reside in her kingdom, they are blurr'd with the original leprosie of the matter; for here the *curse* raves and rules; but in heaven it is not predominant. To put an end to this point, let us hear the admirable Agrippa state it. This is hee, between whose lipps the truth did breathe, and knew no other oracle." P. 125—6.

It would be absurd to attempt to give, within the compass of a note, an outline of the principal works which appear to have so deeply interested our ancestors on the subject of WITCHCRAFT.

To say nothing of the renowned CORNELIUS AGRIPPA, Scotts " *Discoverie of Witchcraft*," printed by Broome, [with the types of Jugge, as I suspect,] in 1584, 4to. will not fail to interest the curious reader, since it has been so frequently quoted in illustration of Shakspeare by Messrs. Steevens, Malone, and Douce. It was reprinted in 1651, 4to. and again in 1665, fol. but the first is the most beautiful as well as rare edition. In the 17th century the subject was warmly discussed by Glanvill, K. James I. Meric Casaubon, H. More, and Webster; and by Hutchinson and De Foe in the 18th century. Many others, and especially *foreign*,

writers might be noticed; but the reader is referred to Morhof's *Polyhist. Literar.* vol. ii. lib. iii. [edit. 1747.] and the valuable catalogues of Farmer, Steevens, and Reed, —as well as to the *Bibl. Universalis Selecta* of Paterson, 1786, 8vo: a work, which I would strongly recommend to every one who is desirous of a guide in the formation of a judicious and not too extensive library. It does great credit to the memory of poor PATERSON, whose like we shall rarely see again!

Of *subordinate* treatises upon WITCHCRAFT, the list is endless; although I would by no means be supposed to include in this list the "*Physica curiosa, sive Mirabilia Naturæ* et Artis" of SCHOTUS, comprehending upwards of 1400 closely printed quarto pages. (Edit. 1667.) BOULTON'S *Medicina Magica tamen Physica*, 1665, 12mo. has a great deal of curious reading in it: the Dedication* is a fair specimen of

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* To the Ryht Honourable the Marquess of Dorchester.

My Lord,

The candor of your affections to these *Æsculapian* mysteries, by divers of my acquaintance frequently related unto me, together with the promptitude of your genius to those sublime and inestimable treasures occulted in *spagirical* operations, *hermetically* performed, have pressed on my presumption to this Dedicatory Epistle, without your Honor's consent or licence first obtained. *Horace* had his *Mæcenas* and *Virgil* his *Augustus*; and it is the accustomed manner of our modern writers, alwaies to palliate themselves under the protection of some worthy Patron. I question not

that inflated yet imposing style in which most of these treatises were written. The "COMTE DE GABALIS, ou *Entretiens sur les Sciences Secrettes*" furnished Pope with the machinery for his Rape of the Lock; and the 6th page* of

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but that harmonious temper of your well disposed nature, will accept in good part the rash attempt of your well meaning, and yet unknown servant. I confess it is unworthiness to stamp the impression of your Honour's title upon such an abortive; and could I imagine the child in the future would become the least disparagement to the dignity of the Godfather, I would even now strangle it in the cradle. Vouchsafe then (most gracious Lord) one smile from your serene countenance upon this tender infant, cast out into the wilde worlde, ready to be devoured with the duplicated teeth of *Zoilian* sharks. The shadow of your Honour's wings is the only solace it can expect, to whose tuition I only commit it for protection. Humbly imploring your Lordship's favourable construction of this my incivility, I take leave, and rest,

Your Honour's, &c.

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* "Si je n'ay pas assez de grandeur d'ame, pour essayer de devenir le maître de la nature, de renverser les élémens, d'entretenir les intelligences suprêmes, de commander aux Démons, d'engendrer des Géans, de créer de nouveaux mondes, de parler à Dieu dans son trône redoutable; et d'obliger le Cherubin, qui défend l'entrée du Paradis terrestre, de me permettre d'aller faire quelques tours dans ses allées; c'est moy tout au plus qu'il faut blâmer ou plaindre; il ne faut pas pour cela insulter à la mémoire de cet Homme

this work is another striking proof of the daring sentiments and elevated language which frequently characterised these compositions. On consulting Barbier's Dict. des Oeuvrages Anonymes et Pseudonymes [Paris 8vo. 1806, tom. i. No. 821.] I find that this book was written by the Abbé DE MONTFAUCON DE VILLARS, and was first printed at Paris in 1670, 12mo.

With what apparent interest the celebrated author of the "Lay of the last Minstrel" and "Marmion," has pursued the subject of which we are treating, see his "Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border," vol. i. p. xc to cv: vol. ii. p. 109 to 176. edit. 1806. At the end of his "Life of Dryden" we have the following ingenious and just sentiments upon the *tendency* of these studies.

"Those superstitious sciences and pursuits, which would, by mystic rites, doctrines, and inferences, connect us with the invisible world of spirits, or guide our daring researches to a knowledge of future events, are indeed usually found to cow, crush, and utterly stupify, understandings of a *lower*

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rare [*Le Comte De Gabalis*], et dire qu'il est mort pour m'avoir appris toutes ces choses. Est-il impossible que, comme les ames sont journaliéres, il ait succombé dans quelque combat avec quelque Lutin indocile? Peut-être qu'en parlant à Dieu dans le Trone enflammé, il n'aura pû se tenir de le regarder en face; or il est écrit qu'on ne peut le regarder sans mourir. Peut-être n'est il mort qu'en apparence, suivant la coûturne des Philosophes, qui font semblant de mourir en un lieu, et se transplantent en un autre." Edit. Cologne. 12mo. No date.

rank; but if the mind of a man of *acute powers* and of *warm fancy*, becomes slightly imbued with the visionary feelings excited by such studies, their obscure and undefined influence is ever found to aid the sublimity of his ideas, and to give that sombre and serious effect, which *he* can never produce, who does not himself feel the awe which it is his object to excite. The influence of such a mystic creed is often felt where the cause is concealed; for the habits thus acquired are not confined to their own sphere of belief, but gradually extend themselves over every adjacent province: and perhaps we may not go too far in believing, that he who has felt their impression, though only in one branch of faith, becomes fitted to describe, with an air of reality and interest, not only kindred subjects, but superstitions altogether opposite to his own." P. 506—7.

Very different from these sentiments were those of Father C. CLEMENT, a Jesuit; who, in his curious treatise, called "*Musæi sive Bibliothecæ extructio, instructio, cura, usus, &c.* Lugduni 1635. 4to." at p. 389, &c. wished all books relating to Magic and Astrology to be excluded. See Peignot's Diction. &c. des principaux Livres condamnés au feu, supprimés, ou censurés,* tom i. xxx. Paris, 1806. 8vo.

Mr. G. S. Rose, in his splendid and interesting publication of "*Partenoplex de Blois*," has favoured us with some

* This is a very ingenious and amusing work of Peignot —little known in our country. The author is, however, occasionally subject to the same censure which he passes on G. Puy-Herbaut—"il est trop prolixe; la précision lui manque." P. xxix.

curious observations on this subject in the notes to the Second Canto; but I question if the reader's attention can be directed to a more extraordinary performance relating to *Witchcraft*, than to a little sixpenny pamphlet, recently published, under the following title—(which may hereafter be considered a curiosity, as giving evidence of the serious belief in the *Black Art*, at the opening of the 19th century.) "*The Iniquity of Witchcraft censured and exposed: being the Substance of Two Sermons delivered at Warley, near Halifax, Yorkshire,* By T. HAWKINS, 8vo. 1808." Bagster, London. The ensuing specimen may be considered sufficiently curious and amusing. (I have no doubt that the author has stated these facts accurately from the documents given him.)

"The following is transcribed from the copy presented by Mr. K——g. "In the name of Jesus Christ, I call upon thee through power will command such creatures, DRIMOTH, BELLMOTH, LYMOCK, I conjure you up to fetch me back *the watch of* J—— C——r, that was stolen on the ninth day of August, 1807, in the house of man, to bring the matter to true light, and to confess *the said watch* and to the party the owner, to have his watch again in so short time as may be pleasing and acceptable to the Almighty. God will have the whole matter made known in this order without any further trouble unto the parties. I. G. H. name of the angels Satan and Agemon, that you attend to me in the hour acceptable to the Almighty God, and send unto me a spirit called Sagrigg, to torment the thief both day and night, that he do fulfil my command, and desire to fetch back *the watch* in nomen de patri an filii."

(Here follows some more unintelligible Latin.) "I by these creatures shall make them to yield through God's help, to their sorrow, by the authority of the Omnipotent, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and by the holy virgin Mary mother of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the holy angels and archangels, and of St. Michael and St. John the Baptist, and in behalf of St. Stephen and all the martyrs, St. Sylvester and all the confessors, the holy virgins, and all the saints in heaven and earth. Unto whom there is given power to bind all those spirits, to bring the thief to judgment, that have stolen *the watch*. And here, we do excommunicate, damn, curse, and bind with the knots and bonds of excommunication all the thieves, male or female, that have committed this theft or mischief to J—— C——, of Causeyfoot, or have accepted any part thereof to their own use. Let them have part with Judas who betrayed Christ, Amen.————Let their children be made orphans. Cursed be the thief, be they in the field, in the grove, in the woods, in their houses, barns, chambers, and beds, that have stolen the watch. And cursed be they in the church, the church yard,—— in eating, in walking, in sleeping, in drinking, in sitting, kneeling, standing, lying, in all their works, in their body and soul, and in their five wits. And cursed be the heart, back, liver, bowels, and spleen. And cursed be their head,—and their arms,—and the hands which took the watch. And cursed be their flesh, and cursed be their bones, and the marrow that is within their bones. And cursed be they———by the milk of the virgin Mary. I conjure thee, Lucifer, with all thy soldiers, by the Father Son, and Holy Ghost,——that the thief rest not day nor

nor night, till thou restore *the watch* again to J——— C———, acceptable to Almighty God ——Bring them to destruction,——And let the torments of hell be strong upon them for ever. Amen."

"There is a man who has lately set up in this diabolical profession at L———n, and has in some instances, thirty people at a time waiting on him!!!———A certain child being ill (in W. T.) it was suggested by a female friend, that perhaps it had "*hurt done it.*" A phrase used to signify *bewitched.* The above friend obtained a wizard's charm: this was to be worn by the afflicted child for its relief and cure. It cost two shillings. But the mother having no faith in charms, instead of putting it on her child, she very wisely put it in the fire."

"I knew a woman whose husband being very ill, she conceived that he was bewitched. And she expended about eleven shillings on a wizard for his efficacious charms, but, alas! her husband died. The death of her husband did not convince her of the inefficacy of charms. She purchased no less than three for her own benefit. One she wore in her cap,—a second was sewed in her stays,—and a third was nailed against the door of her house!——For one of these charms, I understood, she paid the sum of 2s. 4d." Preface p. IV. V. VI.

Etymological.

MARGRAVE.—p. 23. note.

Perhaps I may have been too precipitate in concluding that this word was first adopted in our language by Robinson

in his translation of 1551. In the German, I am told, "*Markgraaf*," signifies, *Marquis.*

RIFE.—p. 49, line 9. This word also means "common —prevalent—abounding."

DORRERS.—p. 51. note.

In German, *Dorren* and *Durren* signify to wither; and Luther, in his Translation of the New Testament (John, ch. v. 3) uses the word *durre*, for *withered* persons. But whatever may be its derivation, there is no doubt of Robinson's using *Dorrers* in the sense of *Drones*, as the original Latin is *fuci*. Indeed, I believe *Dorrer* and *Drone* were formerly synonymous terms. See Minsheu in voc. *Dorrer.*

QUEAN.—p. 65. note.

To the authorities cited in the note here referred to, I subjoin the two following:—the first at full length, as the work is not noticed by Dr. Jamieson in the list of authors prefixed to his Scottish Dictionary.

"Quean;" Κοινειν *cauponari, scortari;* Κοινειον, *lupanar, prostibulum, mulier corpore quæstum faciens*: Jun."—vel à Κοινος, Κοινη, *communis; a common drab;* unless we may suppose *quean* is but a transposition of *quena;* and, if so, it may be derived from Γυνη, *mulier; a common woman.* "Wee often heare, (says Verstegan p. 336,) this reproachful name given to women; and what it is I suppose few do know; but not seeing any way the appellation properly of a woman, it must then bee some other contemptible thing, (polite gentleman!) and so do I fynd it to bee, to wit, *a barren old cow,** and no other thing; and yet is it grown to

* *Queen* or *kween* in Dutch signifies, as I am told, a

bee in our language understood, and ment for a dishonest woman of her body."

LEMAN'S *English Etymological Dictionary*, 1783. 4to.

"*Queyn*, or *Quean*," says DR. Jamieson, "is never a respectful designation; but it is often used in familar language without any intentional disrespect: as, *a sturdy queyne, a thriving queyne*. It is generally accompanied by some epithet, determining its application; as, when it bears a bad sense, a *loun queyne, a worthless queyne;* and as denoting a loose woman, a *hure queyne*. When applied to a girl, the diminutive *queynie* is frequently used. It occurs in almost all the Gothic dialects."

Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language, Edinb. 1808. 4to. vol. ii.

BEARETH ALL THE STROKE—p. 130.

Add. May not this mean to *preponderate*—in allusion to the striking of the scale in weighing?

KNOWLEDGE.—p. 160

Sir T. MORE frequently used this as a *verb* [vide p. cx.] and in Hen. VIIIth's. Primer, it is "we *knowledge* thee to be the Lord."

"HAPT."—p. 188. To *hap* signifies to cover one's self with any thing: it is still used in some of our northern counties, and was no doubt intended to convey this meaning in the passage of the Utopia here referred to. The explanation in the note is therefore inapplicable.

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barren cow. It might, therefore, in former times have been an opprobious name given to a *barren woman*.

"AIGLETS."—p. 225. "Aiguellettes" were tags worn also on the ends of the shoulder knots of officers, gentlemen in dress, and even common sergeants.

"EXPLOITED."—p. 264. last line.

Exploiter une terre is a French agricultural term; and, most probably, Robinson adopted this word from the French.

"ESCHEWED."—p. 288. l. 5. Dr. Johnson derives this word from *escheoir*, and the verb *to shun*, from the Saxon *ascunian*. I will however just observe, that, probably, *eschew* ought rather to be derived from *ascunian*, and that the original of the verb *to shun* is to be sought for in the German *scheuen*, to shun.

"AVAILETH."—p. 305. line 16. p. 347. line 9.

From the French *s'avaler*—to let down—to lower—to sink—to bow: more frequently spelt *vail*:

——"how low a high-bred courtier
May *vail* to a country gentleman."—MASSINGER.

"Now the time is come
"That France must *vail* her lofty-plumed crest,
"And let her head fall into England's lap.—SHAKSP.

"To *vail the bonnet* is a very common expression in old writers." See BOUCHER'S *Supplement to* JOHNSON'S *Dictionary*. Lond. 1807. 4to. Part the First.—Art. "To AVALE, AVAIL."

"RUN AT ROVERS."—(Ibid).

This is a technical phrase in archery, and means *shooting at random*—it is perhaps equivalent to the French—"courir à bride abattue"—to run without restraint.

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CORRECTIONS.

PAGE

xli. Line 14: after "Lo." add "Chancelour."
l. —— 2. but "this edition of it" should have been inserted.
lxxiii. —— 8. instead of "relating to his" read "which are written in."
lxxx. Dele the first line.
cxiv. —— 19. for "HUTTON" read "HUTTEN."
cxxxvi. —— 4. dele "written."
cxliii. —— 5. for "being" read "having been."
27. Note [*] line 5th. for "noblemen" read "nobleman."
27. Note [†] America took its name from that of "Amerigo Vespuccio; and not Vespucius Americanus from that of the continent of America.
49. Line 2. for "felonies" read "felons."
66. Last line but three, for "150 years ago," read "nearly 200 years ago:" the first edition of the Micro-cosmographie having been published in 1628.
126. For "Mr. Knight" read "Dr. Knight."
139. Line 15. note, for "entre" read "entrer."
161. Note, last line but three, for "ocean *ware*" read "ocean *wave*."
167. The asterisk [*] for the note should have been attached to the word "gorgeous" (line 3.) and not "now."
192. More's father (in the note) is said to be "Chief Justice," instead of "one of the Puisne Judges."
196. First line of note should have been "The Utopians manage their sick very judiciously."
229. Line 1. for "tune" read "fortune."
244. —— 15. for "fain" read "feign."
258. —— 8. for "principle" read "principal."
267. Note line 18. for "MORIANA," read "*Biographical and Literary Introduction.*"
271. Line 5. for "godliest" read "goodliest."
289. —— 2. for "cast of," read "cast off."
315. —— 4. for "prescribed" read "proscribed."
334. —— 9. after "they" read "give."
336. Note—line 3. for "short" read "close."
———— 7. for "controversie," read "controverse."
368. ——line 1. dele "published."

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